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REVELATION AND ITS RECORD.[1]

By revelation we mean, roughly speaking, a truth or series of truths which we receive, not through the ordinary channels of knowledge, by reason and experience, but by a direct operation of God's spirit. This is but an imperfect definition, and must be expressed with greater exactness afterwards, but it is quite sufficient to start the immediate and legitimate question—What is the necessity for a knowledge of such a kind? Why cannot we be content with the information wkich reason has to give us, without wishing for instruction from a source which seems so problematical? Are not our ordinary human faculties able to supply us with all that we require to know without the aid of the extraordinary? The very putting of the question helps us to a satisfactory solution. Our reasoning will advance by three stages.

In the first place a *presumption* in favour of revelation is afforded by the very limitations of our knowledge. Placing reason on a higher platform than is common in our own age, we have yet boundless fields untraversed and many wonders which press for explanation. Tyndall stood appalled at the vast undiscovered mysteries and asked, "Can it be that there is no Being who understands more about things than I do?" We notice the various geological formations, and gaze with astonishment at the magnificent exertions of nature. But after all we find we know only a little about the crust of the earth, and even that imperfectly. We can speak of the rind of the orange, as it were, with some little assurance; of its body we are content to acknowledge our ignorance. We speak of evolution, of natural selection, of the survival of the fittest, of the law of gravitation, of the influence of heredity. But when all is done we have but to say that the problems of existence are only

partially answered, and that much remains which we would fain understand. Surely it would be no unparalleled thing that we should seek for some other source of knowledge than that which tantalizingly brings us to a certain point and then breaks down.

But secondly, we find the *probability* of what our limitations would lead us to expect in tracing some analogies of common life. The great mass of knowledge we have stored up has been gained not from our individual experience and investigation. We have taken it on trust from others. In our search for truth we do not begin as if nothing had been ascertained before. We learn as pupils from a master. The rapidity with which we acquire knowledge depends, no doubt, in great part on our own ability, but it also depends on the instruction which we receive. Science relies in great measure on experiment, not only on prolonged observation. Fruitless toil and laborious effort may be saved by this road to learning which all accept and which is found to be no delusion. It is, therefore, in the highest degree probable that our defects in cognition with regard to matters of the highest importance may be supplemented in a way similar to that which is found to be the case in our every day experience. And lastly, this leads us to a solution of our difficulty. Our knowledge of ourselves and of our destiny, and in a far higher degree, our knowledge of God require to be supplemented beyond the point to which reason can lead us. A revelation is, in fact, *necessary*. No theory which looks at man solely as the product of nature can be deemed satisfactory. That spirit-embryo which, developing through time, has come at length to birth and independent spirit-life in man and man alone, raises him into a sphere which is beyond nature.

The dealings of God with him, therefore, must take place in a manner different from that which is employed in the case of nature. If in operating on nature, He makes use of processes which we call natural laws, in operating on spirit He *must* make use of a method which will be more immediate and direct, and this we call Revelation.*

This solution shows us that the question so often put with regard to the relation between reason and revelation is one which is settled by a stricter understanding of words. We may say with Prof. Green, "God is for ever reason, and His communication, His Revelation is reason."

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* See Prof. Le Conte's *Evolution and Religious Thought*.

Having thus cleared preliminary ground we may seek to set before ourselves a clearer conception of what revelation is. It may be defined, in the words of Professor Bruce, as "God manifesting Himself in the history of the world in a supernatural manner and for a special purpose."

Every word in this definition is important. (1) It is a manifesting—not something sent down rounded and complete all at once, but a process proceeding towards an end. (2) The object is God Himself—His character and His relation to men. (3) It takes place in the history of the world and so is capable of verification. (4) It occurs in a supernatural manner, differing thus from the ordinary operations of Providence in nature and human events. (5) It has some purpose towards which it moves, a purpose which will emerge into clearer light as we proceed.

It must be noticed that though we admit that the knowledge derived from revelation does not find its *origin* in reason, it must not therefore be concluded that that information is unreasonable. If reason cannot originate it, it still possesses its inalienable function—it can pass judgment upon it. There are many truths which reason does not force into our brain, but unless they can stand at the bar of reason they require to be forced out. Through forgetfulness of this every day fact, constant attacks are made upon revelation which are quite beside the point. You *begin* your system with setting aside reason, it is said, and so *a fortiori* your deductions must be unreasonable. No sane upholder of revelation will admit this for a moment. Unless the facts with which revelation comes forward can commend themselves to the minds of men they are to be discredited. This is the standpoint which Christ Himself took. "Every one that is born of the truth heareth my voice." The sense of moral truth within man is the final test of revelation.

This point of view, too, has a great advantage: it is so simple that it can be used by all. Argument is not necessary. It is a matter of discrimination. Every one can tell which of two things is the greater by the simple use of his eyes. In the same way moral truths are graded by the use of our natural conscience. The simplest method in our enquiry, then, is to place before ourselves those revelations which have formed part of the world's history, and to leave the decision of their worth to our inborn faculty of moral discrimination.

In the space at our disposal any such comprehensive scheme would be impossible. But a limited application of it will suit our

purpose quite as well, without invalidating any inference which may be based upon it.

About a thousand years before our era the germs of God's revealing love were made known to three peoples widely separated and widely diverse in custom and condition. To the *rishis* dwelling in the land of the seven rivers, to Zoroaster among his friends in Persia, and to Abraham feeding his flocks on the Aramean plain, the inward voice of God spoke.

Of the record of the Zend-Avesta it is sufficient to say that, starting from what seems a pure monotheism, it gradually evolves into a dualism, and finds its culmination in a countless number of inferior deities, a hopeless and involved polytheism.

To come now to India, in the Vedic hymns there is a loftiness of conception which we miss in all the later books. God is, in great degree, regarded as alone, a personal First Cause, distinct from His creation, ready of access to all His worshippers and not in need of any material medium to elevate the minds of His devotees. But within a couple of centuries this has gone. The Brahmanas place sacrifice in the position of honour: it must be used even by gods, and how much more by man. From its frequent repetition salvation can alone be obtained. And then the Upanishads spread their hopeless arms round all that before was bright. God is no longer personal. It is something unknowable and unknown. Man is but a part of this quantity *x*. He is the victim of Maya, hurried along by fate, deluded by appearance. Life is the most dreadful bondage: therefore get rid of it quickly. But the horrible spectre does not end with this life. After death birth after birth succeeds until absorption into impersonality sets, the hopeless victim at peace.

No wonder that ordinary people, unable to grasp all this, preferred to invent the mighty Hindu pantheon, and thus put an effectual veto on that early simplicity which promised so much. And so it is that a nineteenth century upholder of Hinduism can, with a sort of triumph which to any thinking mind seems lamentable, exclaim :—"From the high spiritual flights of philosophy of which the latest discoveries of science seem like echoes, from the atheism of the Jains to the low ideas of idolatry and other multifarious mythologies, each and all have a place in the Hindu's religion."

Was there anything true in the whole of this development? I think there was. At first God was manifesting Himself to the

Aryan race. His purpose undoubtedly was to show Himself more and more in the history of that people. But the divine revealing requires receptive hearts, and this was what was wanting, this it was which blighted the hope which seemed so fair. The pride of the priest, the arrogance of the philosopher, the gross materialism of the people combined to crush out the life of that germ of truth which God had manifested and which He wished to grow.

Here then we have had the histories of incomplete revelations: can we see anywhere the opposite process going on?

Turning to Abraham we hear the voice of God speaking to him; at about the same time as it came to the *rishis* and Zoroaster. While in the enjoyment of his pastoral life and surrounded with the joys of relatives and influential connections, a call comes to him:—Get thee out of thy country, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee; and I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing, and in thee shall all families of the earth be blessed. The purpose of such a call is at once evident. Whether it came to Abraham in an objective or a subjective form matters nothing. He saw in it God showing Himself in His character of love, as a Redeemer from the idolatry which was prevalent around him. In the land to which he was to go he was to become the father of a race who would worship the true God, and who, from that place, would go forth to spread the news throughout the whole world.

This was the beginning, but it was a grand one. A man leaves everything that earth has for him behind and goes forth so that, separated from his idolatrous connections, he may know God and worship Him. Still the capacity of Abraham extends to the idea of God only as El Shaddai, 'the Mighty One'; and yet in some degree he knows how mighty is His love. A few centuries later, when the descendants of Abraham are in great distress, comes Moses to deliver them from bondage and from idolatry. Just at the right moment are they set free, and they constitute themselves sons of Jehovah—'the Consistent One'. Arrived in Canaan the constant temptation is to fall into the worship of their neighbours, and yet they remain wonderfully pure. They progress and do not retrograde. Their material history is one of increasing prosperity, unlike the decay of nations around them. They become a united people under David and enjoy unbounded felicity under Solomon. A division in the kingdom after the death of this great

king is accompanied by degeneracy which is arrested by the fervent entreaties of Isaiah. But even these seem in vain, for shortly after all are carried off to distant Babylon and desolation seizes the land.

Seventy years elapse, and the nation which seemed lost for ever returns, and with an imperishable gain. Even in luxurious Babylon they have felt the presence of God and they have now cast their idols aside for ever. Not only so, but they have risen to a nobler conception of man. They have arrived at a knowledge of his moral significance: that he and not the nation is the unit, that God's dealings are with him and not with the mass. And they have learned, too, what sin is: their hard discipline has taught them that. But they now know that God has power to save them from it, for has not their whole history taught them that the purpose of God towards man is one of love.

Of the centuries which follow there is little record. And yet even here there is enough to show a new and higher conception taking possession of the people. From the books of Ruth and Jonah we learn that they no longer recognise themselves alone as the object of Jehovah's love. They have come to glory in the fact that His grace is for the whole world, and that they are instruments in His hands for the proclamation of this glorious news.

Arrived thus at the conclusion of the Jewish revelation, do we find in it anything calling for special notice?

(1) There is a historical progress, a fulness of life in the people ever growing in strength, which is in marked contrast with the decay of the kingdoms around them. There is, too, the promise in this of a still more perfect development.

(2) Side by side with this is a most marvellous advance in the knowledge of God. It is a steady progressive knowledge from crude to purified, from lower to higher. Every sign of falling back is checked just at the proper time. And all this whilst they are surrounded by men on every side who are living in gross religious ignorance and selfish lust.

How can these two facts be explained? They violate every canon of the law of environment and every expectation of what follows from the law of universality.

But grant that in the case of Israel you have an example of the law of natural selection, that the people were specially fitted for their purpose in the world, and the question is easily answered. Their history is then the result of the action of the Supreme Spirit of God on the spirit of man, an action which was not retarded by any op-

position of man's. Israel was the recipient of the self-manifestation of God, and it is this supernatural element which, running through its natural condition, raises the latter to that position which seems so strange. And yet God is not wholly unveiled even in this process. Something more is needed to perfect it, so that it may be fully understood by all and claim the hearts of men. And is this forthcoming? Again we must revert to history.

Suddenly on the stage of history emerges One whose appearance, judged by the ordinary laws of evolution or heredity, is a mystery. He is a sinless man, who seeks to bring men into a close relation with God. And He does this by assuring them that He is really God, who, for this purpose of grace, has taken on Him the form of man. He tells them everything of God that human understanding can grasp, and finally dies on their behalf. Can this seemingly anomalous figure be explained? Surely it can. No teaching of science is more emphatic than that life in its ascent has a tendency to show itself more and more not so much in nations as in highly organised individual forms. Progress, as we must all acknowledge, is through individuals. If this law, therefore, is really working in the world, we should expect the fruit and perfection of manhood not in a nation but in an individual. The highest ideal of manhood will be realized in a person. For the realization of this consummation man longed, and his expectation was and is satisfied in the appearance of Christ. But though His life seems so out of keeping with every known law of environment, it is still one which commands immediate attention, yea even adoration. His advent, therefore, although so strange, does not come to us as would the entrance of a Centaur or the Assyrian Tiamat. And why is this? Because we feel that He is the legitimate culmination of some process of evolution which we but slightly know in ourselves, and yet which we can imagine attaining complete realization in some individual. And that law of evolution is easily found when we call to mind that historical progress which we have so rapidly sketched. There was in it a mysterious element, but one which was shown to be the potent one—an element which laughed at circumstance and purified and elevated the nation through which it was allowed to run. It is this element, only in a far higher and purer degree, which we find in Jesus. He is the supreme product of its growth. In Him, in human form, this development reaches its ripest fruition. He combines with mortal existence this element which is so subtle and unanalyzable, which we found to be

the forth-putting of the divine energy and grace. He is, in fact, the highest manhood, but in addition to this, He is the perfect manifestation of God's love in the world and on behalf of the world.

In what manner this union was effected I cannot now speak. It is sufficient for our purpose to see that every known principle of science demands that such a combination should be reached, and that history has given us on its pages the record of the life which our investigation would lead us to expect.

In this person there is all that human nature sighs for. He can speak with an authority which no one can withstand, of God, and He has declared Him to be Love. What man has been groping after in every age, He speaks forth. God is a living personality, not an impersonal passivity ; sin is no slight thing which man can atone for, but God has made provision for its removal ; He is not worshipped by outward ceremonies but by the pure heart ; He hates sin, but He loves the sinner and wishes that none should perish but that all should be drawn to Himself. His one thought for man is redemption, that he may be delivered from the bondage of sin and made pure and spotless in His sight.

Looking back we see that the manifestation of God, poured into the world, spread itself out into many streams, three of which we have looked at. In two of these the current becomes fainter and fainter, and at last becomes quite useless for navigation by the shallows in which it terminates and seeks to press along. The third is different. There are times when it becomes muddy and obscure, times when it seems likely to cease from flowing, but yet its stream becomes ever wider, and it waters more pellucid. It flows along majestically, broad and deep, until it issues in that water of life which is for the healing of the nations.

God will not continue His revelation where it is used by its hearers only as a groundwork for a useless system of speculation or for the display of human reasoning. And so it was that the superstition of the savage, the sordid greed of the Chinese, the mysticism of the Persian, and the intellectual hair-splitting of the Hindu, hindered that manifestation which it was God's will to impart to them, but the germ of which He notwithstanding implanted within them. But where that revelation meets with receptivity it finds the soil on which it may grow and bring forth fruit. And this was especially the case with the people of Israel, amongst whom the unveiling of God found no opposition and went on without interruption. Unhindered by the obstruction of man it at last

culminated in the person of Christ, who satisfies at once the demands of science and the longings of the human heart. And this revelation appeals to men because God has been scattering the knowledge of Himself through many lands and many peoples. They know that their conceptions are imperfect and they gladly hail the appearance of One who possesses in an exceptional degree the power of spiritual intuition and can tell them, not in a spirit of antagonism but of grand comprehension, what God really is.

The keynote of this revelation which culminates in Christ is that which is found in fulness nowhere else, but only dimly shadowed in the hearts of men. Here it is in all its glory—God reveals His purpose as that of redemption, and finally unveils Himself as a Personal Redeemer. Here, then, is power, here is the lever which man desiderates, here he has the possibility of becoming a child of God.

In Christ we have one who can lay hold of our will, our emotion, and our intellect, and give them the highest exercise and the noblest outlet, one who can run our characters into the grandest mould and free our lives from sin and imperfection. Such a revelation as this is not to be set lightly aside: for it has in it the principle of life. But it seeks not to win its way by force: it progresses by its inherent reasonableness. It is open to every man to receive or reject it, but the choice is one of far-reaching importance.

"Choose well; your choice is
Brief and yet endless."

W. MESTON.

HINDU DIET (AHARAM).

"For the sustenance of the vital spirit, Brahma created all this animal and vegetable system; and all that is moveable and immoveable, that spirit devours." (Manu v. 28.)

IN the article on *Nitya Karma*—The Hindu at Home—I gave a brief description of a Brahmin family at dinner, but said nothing about the composition of the various dishes which usually form the bill of fare. It may therefore not be uninteresting to give a little information on this head, and, at the same time, make a few brief remarks on the dietary of the Hindus generally. There is no doubt that in ancient times far more latitude was allowed, in the matter of food, than is the case in modern days. The institutes of Manu,

which are supposed to have been compiled about the fifth century B.C., clearly show that, with various restrictions, most of which commend themselves to one's judgment, there was, practically, as much freedom in the choice of food to the good Hindu of those days as there is to most civilized nations in these modern times. In the fifth chapter of the Institutes, the ancient law-giver mentions various kinds of vegetables and animals that may not lawfully be eaten; but these dietary rules are very much on a line with those laid down for the Jewish nation in the book of Leviticus, and the wisdom of many of them, from a sanitary and economic point of view, is very apparent to the dweller in Eastern lands. One can at once see why, for instance, "mushrooms and all vegetables raised in dung" are excluded from the dietary; and one can also well imagine why, in a hot reeking climate "garlic, onions, and leeks" are not recommended. Again, to the Eastern traveller there is no question as to the positive wisdom of the rule forbidding the eating of the flesh of birds and beasts of prey, and of such vile feeders as the village hog. Of course some of the restrictions do not so commend themselves to one's ideas of the fitness of things; but doubtless there were good and sensible reasons for most of them, if we only knew. Even, however, in the laws of Manu, the permissions and restrictions are of a somewhat conflicting nature; and, as is the case with so much that is connected with Hinduism, they present, to the eye of the uninitiated, manifest contradictions. What can be more free and general than the passage quoted at the head of this article? It seems to cover everything, in its general language; and besides this there is much of a specific nature of the same free character. We find, for instance, the following general statement:—

> "Things fixed are eaten by creatures with locomotion; toothless animals, by animals with teeth; those without hands, by those to whom hands were given; and the timid by the bold." (Manu, v. 29.)

After giving utterance to this philosophical observation, embodying a truth evident to the most casual observer of the things of creation, the law-giver goes on to say:—

> "He who eats according to law commits no sin, even though every day he tastes the flesh of such animals as may lawfully be tasted; since both animals who may be eaten and those who eat them are created by Brahma."
>
> "No sin is committed by him who, having honoured the deities and the manes, eats flesh-meat which he has bought, or which he has himself acquired, or which has been given him by another." (v. 30, 32.)

In all this there is no more restriction than is the case with ordinary Muhammadan customs, for instance; but, further on, we find enactments which seem entirely to do away with this freedom. A general principle is laid down, and a hard and fast deduction drawn from it as follows:—

"He who injures no animated creature shall attain, without hardship whatever he thinks of, whatever he strives for, whatever he fixes his mind on.

Flesh-meat cannot be procured without injury to animals, and the slaughter of animals obstructs the path to beatitude; from flesh-meat therefore let man abstain." (v. 47, 48.)

On the whole, however, whilst there appears to have been great freedom in the matter in those far off times, even the Institutes themselves show a decided leaning to the merit, if not to the absolute necessity, of abstaining from animal food; and, as is well known, in course of time, ideas have become so crystallized as to make it an absolute matter of religion to rigorously abstain from the slightest approach to eating anything even containing the germ of animal life. I remember a simple thing that occurred many years ago, soon after my arrival in this country, which very much impressed this upon my mind. A Brahmin visitor, in taking that cursory look round upon things in general, that was, perhaps, in those days, more customary than is the case with our visitors now, was struck with the nice appearance of some salt in the salt-cellar on the table. He had only known salt with its dark dirty appearance, as it is seen exposed for sale in the bazaar. He seemed much interested when told that our table salt was nothing but the ordinary native salt clarified, and he expressed a great desire to know the process. When, however, he was told that the white of egg was an ingredient in the clarifying operation, his countenance fell; nothing so closely allied to animal life as that which had to do with a fowl's egg could enter into the inner man of a twice-born; and so, alas! he must be content with his salt in its chemically impure condition. At the present day all the higher classes abstain from animal food in every form and are rigid vegetarians. The lower classes, as will be seen hereafter, are not so restricted in their diet; indeed, as we go lower down in the scale of caste we find the restrictions lessen, and the dietary scale expand, until it comes to include things considered, by even the least fastidious of Europeans, as altogether abominable.

In a country like India, there is no doubt that a vegetarian diet has much in its favour; indeed, it is a question whether animal

food, particularly in its plain form, is absolutely necessary, even for the health of Europeans, in such a climate. Without, however entering upon what might prove a vexed question, it may, I think, be fairly stated as an opinion widely entertained by those who ought to know, that for natives of the country there is no absolute necessity whatever for animal food. It is largely consumed by the lowest classes, when they can get it, in any shape or form, even the most repulsive, but even in their case, it is a question whether without it they might not equally well endure the physical strain of labour which does not, certainly, fall upon their vegetarian fellow countrymen; that is, if they could procure the good food of their betters which is denied them by their great poverty. It is, perhaps, hardly possible for the average European to at all understand the loathing and disgust with which a high caste Hindu looks upon the eating of animal food. We know how Englishmen, for instance, abhor the thought of eating the flesh of certain animals which is even relished by natives of some countries; and in England, especially amongst the peasantry, there are strange ideas as to what may be eaten that come as a surprise to those who meet with them for the first time. Some years ago a friend of mine, in Gloucestershire, was very kind to a poor sick cottager. One day she sent, as a delicacy, to the sick woman, a piece of hare from her own table. On asking the invalid afterwards if she had enjoyed the food, my friend was astonished to hear her say she could not possibly eat it, as she could not eat 'varmint'. Added to this state of feeling, in an intensified form, there is, in the case of the Hindu, the religious element, which makes it a crime of the deepest dye, in some cases an unpardonable sin, to partake of such food. Habit, religion, national training which has become an instinct, together with climatic requirements, all point to the wisdom of the vegetarian diet of the Hindu; and anything ought to be looked upon with disfavour which tends to alter the same for what may perhaps be a necessity in northern climes. There are, however, it is said, even tribes of Brahmins who may eat fish, and we know that many of the manifold divisions of the fourth caste eat fish and mutton or goat's flesh freely, to say nothing of the Panchamas or outcastes, of whose habits mention will be made later on. There is, however, amongst all classes, the lowest outcastes excepted, the greatest repugnance to eating the flesh of cows or oxen. There is no doubt that what is now a deeply rooted idea was originally a merely economic one, arising out of the

exigencies of the people; but in true accordance with Hindu things generally, what first arose as a necessary custom petrified into a religious law—a law, the wisdom of which it is not difficult to see, and for the breach of which there seems, in this country at least, no necessity. Sir Monier Williams in his book on Hinduism says in a foot-note :—

"Happily for the Hindus, the cow which supplies them with their only animal food—milk and butter—and the ox which helps to till their ground, were declared sacred at an early period. Had it not been so, this useful animal might have been exterminated in times of famine. What is now a superstition had its origin, like some other superstitions, in a wise forethought." (p. 156, Note 1.)

At first sight it may seem to the stranger that the dinner table of the high caste Hindu is dreadfully lacking in variety and quality :—no steaming joints, or any of the infinite variety of roast and boiled, and stewed and fried, that go to make up the daily fare of the well-to-do European. Perhaps one may even be inclined to pity those whose appetite must be appeased with the eternal round of 'curry and rice'. To those, however, who have some intimate knowledge of the daily life of the Hindu gentleman, there seems little room for pity : indeed, the sentiment may rather be in an opposite direction. There is an infinite variety of pickles, and chatneys, and sauces—the sweet, the sour, the bitter, and the pungent—which go to form the chief variety of a by no means to be despised list of appetizers. The preparation of these is done by the females, who set as much store on their receipts and who take as much personal interest in the actual preparation of them, as did our grandmothers in England before the days of general providers. The secrets of the stillroom enter largely into the education of the Hindu girl, as they did, in the olden days with our own progenitors. When females meet for a chat, the conversation is largely taken up with this all-important subject; and this is but natural, seeing that the good opinion of the master of the household can be influenced by the dinner table as much in India as in other countries. In this we find a touch of nature which shows that all the world's akin.

There are various kinds of *dhāl* and also different modes of preparing it. This dish is a kind of pease-pudding, made of various pulses, and it is used very much, as is the rice, to form the medium for partaking of the different delicacies. We are here speaking of parts of India where rice is the staple food. In other parts, wheat and other kinds of grain are used instead of rice, as the foundation

article; and, perhaps, there things may be somewhat different. In a large country like India, with its differing nationalities, it cannot be expected that the dietary system will be the same throughout; but it may be said that in most parts these sauces and pickles form a large element in the food of the people. Of course vegetables, of many kinds, including the numerous gourds, go largely to form the 'curry'; and above all and without which everything else is as nothing, there is the never-to-be-too-highly prized 'ghee' or clarified butter. This universally valued article enters, more or less, into the preparation of almost every dish; and is, of course, employed more or less freely according to the means of the family. It is also used, when it can be had, for pouring over the rice by the diner at his discretion. This may not seem very nice to the uninitiated, but to those who have given it a good trial it is most appetizing. After the meal, and somewhat as we take pudding or sweets, curds are taken, poured over the rice, and eaten with suitable pickles or chatney. This dish is always the last one of the meal, and when cakes are eaten, of which there are a great variety, it is done just before the dish of curds is introduced. In the preparation of these cakes and sweets of many kinds, the females, very much like the European housewife, pride themselves on their proficiency; and at festive seasons such things are largely in request. It will thus be seen that Hindu diet is by no means lacking in variety, or quality, to whet the appetite or to form a good substantial meal. Our Aryan cousins may not, perhaps, have the stalwart frame of the European, but the well-formed limbs and well-nourished body of the average Hindu gentleman show that the Hindu dietary, albeit wanting in what we may consider substantial dishes, is well suited for all those purposes for which food is a necessity. The Hindu law-giver, having in view the proneness of man's animal nature to over-indulgence, and also, perhaps, being personally acquainted with the highly spiced, appetizing dishes of the East, is careful to warn against evils that might result from a conjunction of these temptations. He says:—

> "Excessive eating is prejudicial to health, to fame, and to future bliss in heaven; it is injurious to virtue and odious among men; he must, for these reasons, by all means avoid it." (Manu, ii. 57.)

What has been said hitherto applies, in the first place, to the higher caste and well-to-do Hindus; but, with a few changes, this description applies to all respectable classes. The chief difference lies in the number and variety of the pickles and chatneys, &c., and

the manner in which they are prepared; and also in the fact, as before stated, that the Sudras partake of animal food. Even by these, however, particularly in the villages, animal food is not regularly eaten; the main reason being, perhaps, as far as country folks are concerned, that it is not often procurable. There are no butchers' shops in the villages, and it is only occasionally, as at some festive season, that a sheep or goat is slaughtered for food. Fish, however, is more used, when procurable. Fowls and eggs are eaten oftener than 'butcher's meat'; but even this is chiefly at the entertainment of friends or visitors, and on such like occasions. It may also be mentioned that the Brahmins are noted for their good cooking; and this, as a rule, is done by the females of the household—not servants. On important festive occasions, as at marriage feasts, when the labour involved may be too heavy for the regular household, male cooks, friends or relatives, give their help; or even professional cooks are employed—care always being taken that the rules of caste are not infringed. Of course, in all cases, the number, variety, and quality of the dishes must depend very largely upon the means of the household; but this is a fact that goes without saying. It may also be mentioned that fruit is sometimes taken, after meals, as a kind of dessert; but this is not so commonly done as might be supposed. Betel (*pan supari*) is, however, commonly taken, after every meal, as a digester.

In the matter of beverage, it may broadly be stated that true Hindus are water drinkers. Milk and buttermilk are also freely drunk when procurable, especially buttermilk in the hot season. A simple drink is also made of water, sweetened with jaggery (sugar in its unrefined state) and flavoured with pepper; but this is more of a sacred drink and is not ordinarily used. The Panchamas or outcastes, and also some of the lower of the numerous classes of Sudras, do largely drink intoxicants, chiefly toddy and country arrack. Amongst respectable Hindus, however, the drinking of intoxicants of any kind is considered most degrading; and although there are a few—comparatively very few—and these chiefly the so-called enlightened! dwellers in towns and other large centres, who are becoming addicted to drinking habits, it may still be said, as a broad fact, that real Hindus are a nation of water drinkers. This fact is one that should be noted by the advocates of temperance, and it would, perhaps, as an argument, have more effect than many of those used by orators who are endowed with more zeal than discretion. Here is a nation composed of men who have proved

themselves capable of enduring enormous physical fatigue, as clever, hard-working mechanics and laborious cultivators of the soil, and numbers of whom rank in the first class as learned pundits, brave warriors, and clever statesmen, and yet who for ages have been a nation of water drinkers; and this also in a climate that is certainly conducive to thirst, a fact often used as an excuse for indulging in stimulating alcoholic beverages.

The higher classes of Hindus generally have but two meals a day—the midday meal, which may be taken earlier if circumstances necessitate it, as in the case of business men and officials who have to go to office, and the evening meal, or supper. The supper is usually taken very late in the evening, shortly before retiring for the night. This practice, which might be productive of uncomfortable nights to Europeans, with their heavier and more indigestible diet, does not seem to interfere with the rest of the Hindus; probably on account of the lighter quality of the food, as distinct from the quantity taken. A good orthodox Hindu should take no food or drink of any kind before the midday meal; but, as a matter of fact, it is getting a custom, where circumstances may seem to call for it, for a light breakfast, perhaps coffee and certain kinds of cakes, to be taken, earlier in the day. This is not, perhaps, strictly speaking, in accordance with the Shastras, but it is nevertheless a custom that has arisen and which is tolerated. With the Sudras, however, and the Panchamas, it is an invariable rule to have a light breakfast in the early morning, when poverty does not prevent it. This meal usually consists of cold rice which has been purposely left over from the supper of the previous evening. It is eaten just as it is, simply flavoured, perhaps, by a little salt; but when it can be had, a morsel of broiled salt fish, or a broiled chilly, or an onion, or bit of cocoanut, may be taken by way of relish. This cold rice is mixed up with a little buttermilk, or the cold congee of the night before, that is, the water in which the rice has been boiled, and which forms a kind of thin gruel. This custom is a very wise one, as can easily be seen, in the case of those who have to rise early and do a hard morning's work in the fields before the midday meal; whilst the fasting until midday is not so detrimental to those, who, like the Brahmins, perform little manual labour, or suffer little from exposure.

When on a journey, or otherwise away from home, the high caste Hindu has to undergo many inconveniences, and must often suffer much from the pangs of hunger; but even travellers have various

ways and means of obtaining food. Hospitality is universal, and the traveller is always sure of ungrudging entertainment from those of his own caste, whose hospitality he may lawfully accept. This duty of entertaining guests is laid down by the ancient law-giver Manu, as of prime importance. In treating of the duties and obligations of house-keepers he says :—

> "No guest must be dismissed in the evening by the house-keeper; he is sent by the retiring sun; and whether he come in fit season or unseasonably, he must not sojourn in the house without entertainment.
>
> Let not himself eat any delicate food, without asking his guest to partake of it; the satisfaction of a guest will assuredly bring the house-keeper wealth, reputation, long life, and a place in heaven." (iii. 105,106.)

Connected with many of the choultries, also, are means for providing meals for travellers of different castes; and towns and most large villages have houses of entertainment for different classes where food is given on payment, which is usually at so much per meal. There are also certain kinds of food that may be taken without undergoing the usual ceremonies. A broad division is made of things cooked in water, and those cooked dry or with ghee or oil. "It is the water that makes the mischief," as a Brahmin friend said to me when talking on the subject. Sweetmeats, and certain kinds of cakes, and parched grain, and rice broiled and cooked in ghee;—these and fruit may be eaten at any time and in company with other castes, without changing the dress or bathing or undergoing any other of the various ceremonies that have been already described in this series of articles. Thus is the wind tempered to the shorn lamb, and a loophole left for escape from a difficulty that must otherwise often prove intolerable.

A somewhat detailed description has already been given, in the article on *Nityakarma,* as to the etiquette of the dinner table amongst the respectable classes; and reference can be made to that by any who may be curious to know the many and varied ceremonies that must be performed on these occasions,—ceremonies and customs which have been handed down by generations untold; and which are, to a large extent, as rigidly followed at this day as they were in the long past ages of antiquity. In this paper, however, my intention has been rather to give some description of the food partaken of than the mode of partaking of it.

It remains now but to make a few remarks on the food of the lowest classes, the outcastes, who are not troubled by any of the dietary rules which are so rigid in the case of their betters. It has

been shown that members of the Sudra caste partake of animal food. Indeed, some of the lowest classes of that infinitely divided and sub-divided caste eat almost anything and everything that comes in their way. The *Yerukalas*, for instance, a kind of gipsy tribe, who live by making wicker baskets and the like, will eat rats, and cats, and the village pig, and almost anything they can get ; and yet, strange to say, these and the like, are not looked upon as unclean in the same way as the Panchamas. They are even allowed to draw water from the caste wells, a privilege that is denied the outcaste, who must not even go near or look into a well that is used by caste people. The broad line of division that marks off the despised and hated Panchamas (Pariahs and Chucklers) from others, is the fact that they eat carrion. Others may eat animal food, and yet not be prevented from using caste wells, because they do not eat it in a state of carrion ; but the very touch of these is pollution. The carcases and skins of all the cattle and other animals that die of disease or old age are the perquisite of the Panchamas, who consume the flesh and tan the skins into leather or otherwise dispose of them. Anything more disgusting than this habit it is impossible to conceive ; and it is small wonder that those who indulge in it are hated and despised as unclean. The hamlets of these people are surrounded with bones and other signs of this habit ; and one may often see the carcase of some buffalo or bullock that has died, perhaps, of disease, or worn out with extreme old age, lying in some wet ditch, or otherwise awaiting the disgusting operation. Anything more revolting it is impossible to imagine than a group of these people squatting round some such object, watching the skinning and cutting up process and waiting for the dividing of the sickening flesh. The picture is generally rendered all the more horrible by the sight of crows and vultures and village dogs waiting for their turn at the remains, and by the suspicion of the neighbouring bushes sheltering a jackal or two, drawn thither by the hope of a congenial repast. True, the lot of these people is hard ; they often suffer from hunger and are glad to get anything to satisfy their appetite ; but such feeding seems to bring them down to the level of the birds and beasts of prey ; and it must tend to brutalize and degrade. It may be said that these despised people have, as a rule, extreme poverty as some excuse for this custom ; and perhaps, to their way of thinking, such food is a welcome addition to the miserable meals of pulses or rice, eked out with a few chillies or other cheap condiments, with,

perhaps, now and then a morsel of half putrid dried fish, by way of relish. Amongst the very poor also even such meals as these are by no means always plentiful and regular; often but once a day can the pangs of hunger be appeased. Perhaps it would not be wrong to say that a large number are in a chronic state of hunger. These things cause it to be a kind of festive time to many when a carcase falls to their share; and they cannot understand our abhorrence of such habits. Such also is the power of custom that many of these classes who have risen by hard work and thrift, and are able to afford better food, still indulge in these horrid feasts, when opportunity occurs. The missionaries have wisely made it a hard and fast rule amongst their converts that the eating of dead cattle shall be absolutely given up; and it has become a distinction between Christians and heathen of these classes, that the former do not indulge in this debasing habit. In this way, also, has Christianity an elevating influence, raising men and women from habits disgusting and degrading, and placing them on a higher level of manhood.

It may be asked why Englishmen should not be allowed to use caste wells, when flesh-eating Hindus and Muhammadans are allowed this privilege. The answer is that, though they do not eat carrion themselves, they employ servants of the class who do, and also have their food cooked by them. When the Muhammadans came to India they were wise enough only to employ caste men as servants and cooks, hence they themselves have always been treated as caste people. The English, on the contrary, from the first, employed Pariah servants, and hence they, too, are treated as outcaste; food cooked by such men being of itself unclean and defiling. One cannot but look back with regret and wish it had been otherwise. There may have been reasons why the first English settlers did not follow the example of the Muhammadans in this matter; perhaps necessity compelled them to adopt the course they did; or it may have been merely a result of that cynical indifference to the fancies and superstitions of others which is but too often a characteristic of the average Englishman. Any way it would certainly have been a great gain if the English had been regarded as caste men, in the same way as are the Muhammadans, seeing that those of the natives who embraced their religion would possibly be elevated to the same privilege, as is the case with the followers of Islam, even to the present day. It is not, for a moment, that we would encourage caste, as such, or wish for anything approaching

to so dire a system amongst Christians, but we do think it a most lamentable thing, whatever may have given rise to it, that although a Muhammadan may, for instance, draw water from any well and in various other respects is treated as on an equal footing, socially, with respectable Hindus, an Englishman is not allowed the same privilege. The lowest Panchama, also, on becoming a convert to Islam, is, by the very fact, at once allowed all the privileges of his co-religionists. Not only, however, is the Englishman treated as on the same religious level as the Panchama, but in the event of a high caste Brahmin becoming a Christian, even though he may not depart one whit from his former habits, as regards diet, he, by the very fact of his change of religion, is made at once to descend to the lowest level, in the estimation of his countrymen, and is treated as an outcaste. These remarks may, at first sight, seem out of place here; but seeing, that, after all, the question hangs very largely upon food, and what goes into a man, it may not, really, be so alien a consideration with which to conclude these somewhat discursive remarks on Hindu diet.

In going over this subject it is impossible not to have been struck with the difference, in this respect, between Hinduism, with its rigid rules and regulations, and the religion of Christ, with its broad holy freedom, and yet, withal, its care for the weakness of others. The Prophet of Nazareth, in contradistinction to the laws of Manu teaches :—

"Hear, and understand: Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man; but that which cometh out of the mouth, this defileth a man.

Those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart; and they defile the man." (Matt. xv. 11,18.)

And St. Paul, whilst upholding the broad freedom of the laws of his Master, also in the same spirit of charity and carefulness for others which Christ so eminently taught and practised, is careful to admonish that this same freedom is not to be employed to domineeringly override all the prejudices and weaknesses of others but rather to be used for others' good :—

"I know and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself: but to him that esteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean.

But if thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably. Destroy not him with thy meat for whom Christ died."

"All things indeed are pure; but it is evil for that man who eateth with offence.

It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak."

"If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend."

(Rom. xiv. 14, 15, 20, 21; 1 Cor. viii. 13.)

J. E. PADFIELD.

KINGSHIP IN ANCIENT INDIA:—II.

COMING now to the actual duties of the king as described by Hindu writers on polity, we find that his first and foremost duty as laid down in the *Mahabharata*[43] is to gratify and please his subjects by upholding truth and by properly carrying on the administration of justice. This is repeated by all subsequent jurists as the primary function of the king. To this have been added many other duties by later writers. According to Sukra the business of the king is eightfold:—the punishment of the wicked, the ruling of the people, the performance of sacrifices such as *Rajasuya,* the lawful accumulation of treasure, the levying of taxes, the destruction of foes, the acquisition of territory, and the practice of charity.[44] This list of regal duties comprises all that a king might be expected to do in a primitive society in which some importance was attached to the performance of religious rites. As we follow up the history of regal duties to the times of Manu, we see how they gradually dwindle into the one main duty of serving the Brahmans[45] and obeying their injunctions. This arises from the absorbing attention which religious sacrifices came to receive. In the Sutra period the observance of religious ceremonies and the performance of sacrifices seem to have been regarded as the *summum bonum* of life, at least among the Brahmans and Kshatriyas. This is enjoined as the prime business of even the king, and hence the Kshatriyas had to respect and revere the Brahmans all the more, for without their help no sacrifices could be performed. And for the same reason it became the habit of the Kshatriyas to yield unquestioning obedience to the Brahmans, which they are directed to do in the *Dharmasutras.*[46] Neither can there be any question that they did so. By the time

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[43] Santiparva: Rajahdharma, Chapter lvii. verse 11. Protap Chandra Roy's Edition.

[44] *Sukranitisara,* Chapter I. lines 245-248. Dr. Oppert's Edition, p. 11.

[45] Manu, vii. 88.

[46] *Gautamadharmasutra.* Sacred Books of the East, Vol. II. p. 231.

of Manu the Brahmans had completely established their supremacy over every other section of the community; and Manu, to justify the superiority of the Brahmans and to legalise the power which they arrogated to themselves, laid it down, in his *Dharmasastra*, as the highest duty of a Kshatriya, that he should "never shrink from the battle-field, that he should govern his people, and that he should *serve and minister* to the wants of Brahmans."[47] The political degeneracy of the Hindus had commenced even before Manu's time, and as he stereotyped the then existing institutions, the history of the Hindu political system since his time is the history of a gradually and steadily decaying system.

The Hindu ideal of a Rajah would be a prodigious being possessed of all possible virtues and combining in himself the qualities of a stern disciplinarian with those of a merciful father. From the portraits[48] drawn by different writers we are led to conclude that according to their notions he ought to be the very type of virtue, beauty, humility, good sense, ability, and every other good quality. In statesmanship, in physical strength and valour, in social virtues, in devotion to business, and in everything else, he must be inferior to none in his kingdom. The pictures of the ideal king met with constantly suggest the thought that the early Indian kings must have ruled over small tracts of country, so that each of them could come in contact, if necessary, with every one of his subjects and by his exemplary conduct exercise a wholesome influence upon the character of all of them. What kings had specially to guard themselves against were the eighteen vices,[49] one of which was the cause of the ruin of Nala,[50] the king of Nishadha. These vices are classified under two heads, those under the first head having their origin in 'desire' and those under the second head flowing from 'passion'. These eighteen vices are, in order, *hunting, gambling, sleeping in the day, censoriousness, concupiscence, drinking, dancing, singing, playing, useless travel, tale-bearing, violence, treachery, malice, hatred, unlawful acquisition of wealth, wasteful expenditure of the same, reviling others and assault.* The social virtues which the king is exhorted to cultivate strengthen the opinion already

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[47] Manu, vii. 88.

[48] *Sukranitisara*, Chapter I. lines 165-170. Dr. Oppert's Edition, p. 8. Also *Kamandakiyanitisara*, Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's Edition, p. 19.

[49] Manu, vii. verses 47 and 48.

[50] Edwin Arnold's *Indian Idylls*, pp. 39-183.

expressed that the king was to be a model to his subjects in point of character, manners, and demeanour, and was to keep himself in constant touch with them. This feature of ancient Hindu kings contrasts favourably with the reserve and reticence which not uncommonly characterise officials in high position in modern times. The Hindu kings were, above everything else, easily accessible—a circumstance which must have tended to prevent much of the heart-burning which, under the old imperfect system of administration, might have otherwise been inevitable. It is strictly laid down in every treatise on polity that the king should be easily accessible to all and must love all from the bottom of his heart. He must avoid the company of evil-minded persons, associate with elderly men, seek the friendship of those learned in the Vedas and wise in counsel, and constantly learn from them lessons on humility and modest behaviour.[51] He should gratify his subjects with good looks and kind words, win their hearts by his captivating speech, and even ride through his capital every day[52] in order that his subjects may have the pleasure of looking upon him.

Princes in Ancient India received a special intellectual training in order to prepare themselves for the office which they were destined to fill. The system of political education designed for them comprised four sciences, which seem to have included all learning whatsoever. All writers on polity endorse this scheme of education, and urge that the king should go through the course of instruction as provided by it. Manu says that from those versed in the Vedas the king ought to learn the three-fold sacred science, the primeval science of government, the science of dialectics, and the knowledge of the soul, and from the people the theory of the various trades and professions.[53] The four sciences which made up the curriculum of princely studies were *Anvikshiki*, *Trayi*, *Varta*, and *Dandaniti*. It is not by any means easy to understand what exactly was included under each of these sciences. From a careful perusal of the passage in the *Sukranitisara* describing political education we can only infer, in a general way, the nature of the topics comprised under each of these four branches of learning. *Anvikshiki* embodied logic, philosophy, and metaphysics. *Trayi*, which was made up of the four Vedas (Rik, Yajus, Sama, and

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[51] Manu, vii. verses 38 and 39.

[52] *Sukranitisara*, Chapter i. line 744. Dr. Oppert's Edition, p. 32.

[53] Manu, vii. 43.

Atharva), the six auxiliary sciences (Siksha, Vyakaranam, Chandas, Nirukti, Jyotisham, and Kalpa), Mimamsa, Nyayavistara, the Dharmasutras, and the Puranas, established what was right and what was wrong, what was desirable and what not. What was good for man and what not were, it would appear, explained in *Varta*, besides other matters such as interest on money, agriculture, commerce, and the tending of cattle. *Dandaniti* discussed what was wise and moral and what was the contrary. It was so called because it provided the rules by which *niti*, or morality, could be enforced in the world by means of *danda*, or punishment.

From even this brief description of the system of learning drawn up for kings in ancient India, it is abundantly manifest that Indian princes not only received training in the all-important Veda and the auxiliary sciences, but were made to study the whole Hindu mythology, all the codes of law, and metaphysics in addition. To these were added lessons on the chief pursuits of the people, such as commerce, agriculture, and the rearing of cattle. A person thus trained and equipped for the regal office would, no doubt, have done full justice to it according to the then notions of royalty. Though it is doubtful whether the above scheme of education was ever actually put into force, unquestionably Hindu kings have always had some education imparted to them on orthodox indigenous lines. The princes received instruction at the feet of pundits who resided at the court. It may here be useful to observe that as time went on there was a change in the notions of the people as to what constituted essentially princely acquirements. With the degeneracy of the political condition of the Hindus, and with the gradual disintegration of the machinery of government Hindu kings found it necessary to institute a regular class of spies, who are represented as the 'eyes of the sovereign'. The king gave them audience every night before going to bed,[54] and depended on them for all information concerning his own popularity as well as that of his servants throughout the kingdom. This appointment of spies became, in course of time, a recognised institution, and as an inevitable consequence of this recognition, cunning and craft came to be regarded as essential elements of royal policy. The introduction of cunning and craft into the policy of kings was sanctified by the great politician Chanakya,[55] both by precept and

[54] Manu, viii. 223.

[55] This appears from the play of *Mudrarakshasa*. Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol. II. pp. 153-254.

example, for his public career was one perpetual round of stratagems and artifices for the overthrow of his powerful rival Rakshasa. The result was that no king was regarded as perfect or worthy of the name unless his policy was saturated with a modicum of guile and stratagem. In the epic of Bharavi entitled *Kiratarjuniya*, a work which is generally ascribed to the sixth century A.D., we are taught that a king who does not oppose perfidy to perfidy can never achieve success.[56] As ages rolled by, the life of kings became more and more depraved, and the gradual decline in the tone of their lives entailed a corresponding change in the curriculum of their studies. In the prose romance of *Dasakumara Charita*, by Dandi the dramatist, the education which Rajavahana, the son of Rajahamsa, received along with the sons of the nine ministers of the court is described. On it Wilson the great Orientalist offers the following remarks[57] :— "The particulars of their education present a curious detail of what were considered essentially princely acquirements. The use of various tongues, skill in arms, and the management of horses and elephants, acquaintance with tradition, with the rules of polity, with rhetoric and logic, and with music are qualifications sufficiently appropriate, but we should scarcely have expected to find the list extended to metaphysics, law, and the Vedas, and still less to astrology, *medicine, magic, to proficiency in games of skill and chance, and dexterity in thieving ;* yet such is the beau ideal of princely training, and his narrative exhibits the practical application of these accomplishments."

The daily duties of a king are described both in the *Sukranitisara*[58] and in the *Manavadharmasastra*.[59] A knowledge of these duties will show how fully ancient Hindu kings realised the importance of their situation and seriously attended to business. The serious sober life led by them compares very favourably with, nay affords a striking contrast to, the frivolous and degrading pursuits which, for the most part, constitute the daily routine of illiterate native Rajahs of modern times. A modern native Rajah who has not been brought under the refining influence of Western culture may be somewhat of a sportsman, but this unfortunately is the only redeeming feature in him. He may be also somewhat godly and

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56 *Kiratarjuniya*, Canto i. verse 30.

57 *Essays on Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I. p. 353.

58 *Sukranitisara*, Chapter I. lines 551-569. Dr. Oppert's Edition, pp. 24 and 25.

59 vii. 145-153 and vii. 220-224.

pious, but his time is chiefly taken up with cock-fighting, listening to accounts of intrigues in the palace, devising means for putting down this enemy or disgracing that officer, and so on. Let us contrast this picture with the picture of the daily life of ancient kings presented to us in the *Sukranitisara* and the *Manavadharmasastra*. In the former work the daily routine is described with a minuteness bordering on tediousness. We are told how the king spent each one of his twenty-four hours. Sukra divides the day into thirty periods of forty-eight minutes each, and assigns to each period its appropriate work. Carefully analysing the account given by him we learn that having risen in the last watch of the night the king commenced the proceedings of the day by examining the receipts and expenditure for the preceding day and personally inspecting the balance. This took him a little more than an hour and a half. The remaining hours of the first quarter of the day were taken up with bathing, morning ablutions, prayer, exercise, in the shape of riding, and the bestowal of gifts on deserving men for meritorious services rendered. He then occupied himself for over two hours issuing orders in respect of *corn, cloths, gold, jewels, the army, receipts* and *expenditure*—in short doing all work connected with the kingly office except the administration of justice. After breakfast, which came next, he administered justice and disposed of all such matters as were brought before him by the magistrate. The rest of the afternoon was spent in recreative pursuits and in reviewing the army. These were followed by twilight devotions and supper, which over, the king took counsel with his spies for an hour and a half, and then retired to rest. Besides these general duties thus enjoined the king is advised to make a progress annually through his kingdom. It is further laid down that he ought, as much as possible, to do everything himself. It requires no great stretch of imagination to conclude from these facts that the affairs of the kingdom could not have been in any case too unwieldly for one to superintend. Kings appear usually to have ruled over comparatively small tracts of country, perhaps not larger in area than two or three modern districts. Nevertheless, even excluding mighty emperors such as Asoka, Vikramaditya, and Saladitya, there must have been some kings whose sway extended over territories of respectable extent. This appears from the different grades of princes detailed in the *Sukranitisara*.[60] They are arranged in the order of the amounts

[60] Chapter I. lines 367, 374. Dr. Oppert's Edition, p. 16.

of revenue yielded by their provinces and are designated, respectively, *Sarvabhauma*, *Virat*, *Samrat*, *Swarat*, *Maharajah*, *Rajah*, *Mandalika*, and *Samanta*. A prince who received up to three lakhs was called a *Samanta*. The income of a *Rajah* ranged between ten and twenty lakhs, and that of a *Maharajah* from twenty to fifty lakhs. A *Virat* received up to twenty-five crores. To a *Sarvabhauma*, a mythical type of king, was subjected the whole earth with the seven islands.

From a consideration of the duties and responsibilities of kings in ancient India, we proceed to the Hindu conception of a kingdom or State.[61] According to Hindu writers a State is a complex organism, made up of a certain number of necessary constituents which contribute to one another's weal, and without any one of which the kingdom must be imperfect and defective. The seven constituent elements of a State are *the king*, *the minister*, *the ally*, *the treasury*, *the kingdom*, *the castle*, and *the army*. Of this body politic the king is the head. The similitude between the limbs of the body and the members of the State is followed out with a puerile minuteness. Without regard to this solemn trifling, however, we may observe that the constituents mentioned are all essential. We can easily perceive that there can be no government without some territory subject to it, without some sort of head, without some means of defence, and without the sinews of war. And since the Hindus seem never to have known what absolute despotism was, the 'minister' is one of the essential elements of a State. Despotism is universally condemned in law-books. Elphinstone[62] contends that government in India was absolute in effect, but there are, I think, grounds for questioning the force of this contention. I shall, however, advert to this point later on. The mention of an 'ally' as one of the essential constituents of a State seems to call for a few words by way of explanation. Ancient Hindu politicians urge with great anxiety and solicitude that a king should befriend as many other kings as possible. The reason for this is to be sought in the fact, already referred to, that the majority of kings in India ruled over small territories. It was, therefore, impossible for them to resist the attacks of others, unless they had the support of neighbouring kings. Hence, I think, the great importance attached to the political expedient of *reconciliation*,[63] which is recommended

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61 *Sukranitisara*, Chapter I. lines 121-122. Dr. Oppert's Edition, p. 6.

62 *History of India*, Vol I. p. 37.

63 *Sukranitisara*, Chapter IV. section 7, line 476. Dr Oppert's Edition, p. 197.

in preference to every other political device. Of the above constituents of a State, the minister is to be considered typical of the other advisers of the king. Fortresses were highly esteemed by ancient Hindus for the purposes of defence, and Manu observes that " one bowman placed on a rampart is a match in battle for a hundred foes." Minute rules [64] are laid down for the erection of a fortress or castle. For this purpose the king should choose a spot which he ought to make inaccessible by artificial means, if it is not naturally so. As the capital itself was identical and co-extensive with the castle, it is further provided [65] that the castle should enclose within its walls the king's palace, with all the necessary out-houses, parks, pleasure-grounds, &c., the mansions of the grandees and magnates of the realm, all public offices, and the houses of all the people who belong to the capital. The capital was also intersected by broad, long, and well-built roads. All the houses that belonged to the people of the same caste were grouped together. A king built his capital in this way, and on it the construction of villages seems to have been modelled.

Absolutism was unknown in India in early times. The king was never a despot in theory. Neither does he seem to have been one in practice. Elphinstone [66] argues that he could have been subject to no legal control by human authority, for although he is threatened with punishment in one place, [67] and spoken of as subject to fine in another, [68] yet no means are provided for enforcing the penalties, and neither the councils nor the military chiefs appear to have possessed any constitutional power but what they derived from his will. True, as Elphinstone observes, no means are provided in Manu's work for enforcing the penalties to which he is said to be subject. Earlier works, however, clearly define the way in which an obstinate and perverse king should be deprived of his sovereignty, and we have reason to believe that in remote times this power of bringing refractory princes to justice was actually exercised by the people. In the *Sukranitisara* it is distinctly laid down [69] that if a king, though born of a noble family, should

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[64] Manu, vii. 69, 70.

[65] *Sukranitisara*, Chapter I. lines 500-518. Dr. Oppert's Edition, p. 22.

[66] *History of India*, Vol I. p. 37.

[67] Manu, vii. 27-29.

[68] *Ibid.* viii. 336.

[69] *Sukranitisara*, Chapter I. lines 550-558. Dr. Oppert's Edition, p. 57.

persist in an immoral and unrighteous course, his subjects should put away that 'destroyer of the kingdom'. Such a king should be deposed, and in his stead the Purodhas (the first member of the king's council) should raise another born of the same family to the throne, with the consent of the other members of the council. We have no means of determining whether any sovereign was thus dethroned in the time of Sukra, but in still earlier times such power vested in the people seems to have been a reality. Thus we read in the *Mahabharata*[70] that Khaninetra, a king of the Kritayuga, ill-used his subjects and failed to govern his kingdom properly. Owing to his mal-administration and misgovernment, this prince lost the confidence and affection of his people, who dethroned him and elevated his son to the throne. Warned by his father's fate, the son ruled wisely and always paid heed to the wishes of his people. They in return loved him deeply, and his was a happy and prosperous reign. Even in the time of Manu no king could have been absolute. Religion was more or less at the basis of every institution in ancient India, and it was at the basis of government. The king ruled over his country, not so much because he happened to stand in the relation of a sovereign to his subjects, as because governing the people was enjoined as a *religious duty* on the Kshatriya. He must have, therefore, been filled with the fear that, if he failed to govern his subjects well and disregarded the wise counsels of his ministers, divine wrath might swallow him up at any time. Manu himself declares that "a king who through folly rashly oppresses his kingdom will (ere long) be deprived of his life and his kingdom."[71] From these statements it is an almost irresistible inference that kings could not have been altogether arbitrary and self-willed in ancient India. They were restrained at least by a sense of what might happen to them in the next world if they betrayed the trust reposed in them, if not by a sense of what they owed to their subjects.

Having thus shown that the king was at no time absolute in India, we shall next show that he invariably had around him a set of counsellors whom he constantly consulted, and who helped him in the various branches of the administration. "Even a small act," argues Sukra,[72] the constitutional historian of India, "a

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[70] Aswamedhaparva, Chapter iv. verses 8-10. Protap Chandra Roy's Edition.

[71] Manu, vii. 111.

[72] *Sukranitisara*, Chapter II. lines 1 and 2. Dr. Oppert's Edition, p. 34.

person cannot undertake single-handed. How, then, can one hope to rule over a whole kingdom unaided ?" The king should, therefore, select for himself suitable assistants and, as early as possible, form his ministry. The king's ministry or council of advisers was made up of ten members,[73] who were each at the head of a particular department of the administration. There is a striking resemblance between the composition of this council and that of the English Cabinet at the present day, for in the former were represented law, finance, the military department, and foreign affairs, just as they are now represented in the latter. The ten members who made up the king's council possessed equal powers and received equal salaries. Of these ten ministers, no one was subordinate to any other. Yet there was a certain order which was observed in according public reception to them. The first of the ministers was the *Purodhas* (family priest). The others were in order the *Pratinidhi* (vice-regent), the *Pradhana* (chief secretary), the *Sachiva* (war-minister), the *Mantri* (diplomatist), the *Pradvivaka* (chief justice), the *Pundit* (learned adviser), the *Sumantraka* (finance minister), the *Amatya* (councillor) and the *Duta* (ambassador). The functions of each of these ministers may be thus indicated[74] :—

The office of the *Purodhas* was by no means a purely religious office. His functions were analogous to those of the Chancellor under the English constitution about the end of the 12th century. He was, like the Chancellor, in a certain sense the "keeper of the king's conscience." His chief business was to keep the king from evil ways and exert a wholesome moral influence over him both by precept and by example. Hence an unusually pious, virtuous, and holy man was chosen for the office. We are told[75] that the Chancellor in England was charged with the duty of redressing on behalf of the king the wrongs of those suitors whom the ordinary courts might from the nature of the case be unable to assist. The secular duties of the *Purodhas* must have been far more varied, for he was expected to be learned not only in the Vedas and the Vedangas, but also to be well-skilled in polity, archery, the use of arms and missiles, and in military manœuvres. He had, in fact, to be prepared to advise the king on any matter that might be referred to him. He was probably the most confidential of the king's councillors.

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[73] *Sukranitisara*, Chapter II. lines 141, 142, 143. Dr. Oppert's Edition, p. 40.

[74] *Ibid.* Dr. Oppert's Edition, pp. 41, 42, and 43.

[75] P. V. Smith's *English Institutions*, p. 202.

The *Pratinidhi* (literally, one who is put in the place of another), as his name implies, acted for the king whenever the latter was indisposed or felt disinclined to do work. He decided for the king whether a certain measure was or was not to be adopted, and acted as the executive officer in his stead. The *Pradhana* (chief secretary) possessed no independent powers of action, and could only suggest measures for the adoption of the king. His business was generally to bring all matters to the notice of the king for disposal. The *Sachiva* (war minister, or rather, military secretary), transacted all business connected with military affairs. He was supposed to be familiar with the language of beasts such as the horse, the ox, and the elephant. The king learnt from him how many of the troops were at any time available for service, how many engaged in warfare, how many of the fighting men were supplied with bullets, and so on. In the king's council there was also a diplomatist (*Mantri*). The diplomatist, as might be expected, decided the political devices or expedients to be employed in dealing with enemies. He had to advise the king as to whether recourse should be had to the conciliatory means of peace and gift or whether war should be declared. The judicial branch of the administration was represented in the king's council by the *Pradvivaka* (chief justice), who was the highest judicial officer in the kingdom. While in the council chamber, he probably acted as the law-adviser of the ministry, as the Lord High Chancellor now does in the English Cabinet. The *Pundit* was consulted whenever questions about the antiquity or otherwise of a custom arose for settlement. He therefore made a special study of all the customs in the land. It is worthy of note that until recent times the *Pundit* was retained as a regular officer in Anglo-Indian Courts. All questions of Hindu law that presented any difficulty to the judge were to be decided by him. The *Sumantra* was the financial member of the king's council. He had to be able to say to the king: "Such is the amount of revenue this year. Of the entire income so much has been expended; of the remainder so much is stationary (lies as a hoard) and so much is floating or active." The *Amatya*, or councillor, chiefly attended to the settlement of disputes concerning the boundaries of the king's territories, and in addition partially managed revenue matters. His duty in general terms was to keep himself informed of the nature and extent of the king's dominions. How many of the villages were old, how many were newly built by clearing the forests, what portion of the territory had been wrested by foes, and how much

new territory had been acquired, what portion of the land remained uncultivated, what amount of revenue was collected from taxes and fines, how much produce the forests had yielded, what revenue was derived from mines, what from treasure-trove, how much under the head of unclaimed property.:—the *Amatya* had to acquaint himself with these and kindred matters. The remaining member of the assembly of the king's advisers is the *Duta* or ambassador. He was perhaps now and then sent as ambassador to foreign courts. When in the capital he sat in the king's council and acted as his minister for foreign affairs. As he was better acquainted than anybody else with the attitude of other countries towards his own, he had to determine, in the first instance, whether the relations between his sovereign and other kings were to be friendly or otherwise. The negotiations respecting peace and war were conducted by him.

It is far from easy to decide, at this distance of time, whether a council constituted as above ever exercised its full powers and was in thorough working order. In all probability such councils were formed by ancient Hindu kings. It has already been mentioned that at the installation of Rama, Dasaratha his father convened a meeting of the council of state, and subsequently of the whole assembly of the people. Later on, we find in the *Ramayana* that, after Dasaratha's death, the council met again[76] and decided that, as Rama was under the ban of exile, he was disqualified for succession to the throne. In the time of Sukra these councils must have been duly constituted, and must have exercised full powers. By the time of Manu they had already fallen into desuetude. In Manu there is no clear indication of the duties of several of the ministers, though almost all of them are referred to by name. It is only stated in a vague way that the king should be advised by seven or eight ministers, of whom one ought to be supreme, and that he should receive counsel from learned Brahmans. The appointment of other officers to superintend the various branches of the administration is also recommended. Of the ten members who constituted the king's 'council of advisers' in ancient times, only one seems to have been regularly appointed after the age of Manu. This officer was called either *Pradhana* or *Mantri*, the two terms having become interchangeable. The memory of this officer has been preserved to us in many a popular tale still current in Southern India. In the modern *Dewan*, as the minister at the courts of Native Rajahs, such

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[76] Talboys Wheeler's *History of India*, Vol. II. pp. 160-161.

as the Maharajah of Travancore and the Maharajah of Mysore, is styled, we have the lineal official descendant of the old *Mantri* or *Pradhana*. Under the Muhammadan government the minister was called *Dewan*, and we have to this day retained Muhammadan names not only for this officer, but for many others, such as the Tahsildar, Sheristadar, &c. In States under purely native administration, like Nepal and Bhutan, some of the ancient Hindu forms of government may perhaps be found in a state of more perfect purity than in protected States. The articles and publications which the disaster at Manipur elicited from different quarters disclosed the fact that the form of government prevailing in that kingdom is essentially Hindu in its character. This will be evident on a comparison of the primitive Hindu constitution as sketched in the *Sukranitisara* and the government of Manipur as pourtrayed in 'A Description of Manipur'—a paper contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* for June, 1891. The head of the kingdom bears the title of *Rajah*, and the commander of the troops, according to newspaper reports, is called the *Senapati*, which is a pure Sanskrit expression signifying 'lord of the army'. The government of Manipur is, it appears, a 'pure despotism', but the people seem to be perfectly contented and to enjoy a sort of rude happiness such as must have been the lot of the subjects under comparatively late Hindu governments, from which all constitutional forms had disappeared. According to Sir James Johnston the State of Manipur has been in existence for one thousand years; so at a still earlier date it must have been colonised by a tribe which had completely assimilated the Aryan civilisation of Northern India. The connection between India and Manipur must have been of immemorial antiquity; for, according to the *Mahabharata*,[77] it is one of the places which Arjuna visited in his wanderings.

Here ends our account of 'kingship' in ancient India. The origin of kingship in India has been briefly explained. It has been pointed out that absolute despotism never prevailed in India, but that the government was always some form of 'limited monarchy'. Attention has been called to the fact that in Vedic times 'monarchy' in the strict sense of the term was unknown. The patriarchal form of government, traces of which are still to be found in the family life of the Hindus, was then the prevailing form. The heroic stage intervened between the patriarchal stage and the period of pure

[77] Talboys Wheeler's *History of India*, Vol. I. p. 406 *et. seq.*

monarchy. The first unmistakable indications of monarchy in India are to be traced in the times to which the story of the *Ramayana* belongs. In the foregoing account the phases of improvement or decay through which the institution of kingship passed from its first appearance in epic times down to the age of Manu have been indicated. In this connection a question of great interest and some importance naturally suggests itself—the question whether theocracy was ever known in India. "Theocracy," says Bluntschli,[78] "is a form of State which belongs to the infancy of the human race. The earliest political development took place in Asia and North Africa and here the first States are theocratic." In the same work the author observes later on that "the old Indian State resembled the Egyptian and was also mainly ideocratic."[79] These statements seem to be substantially true, though they must be understood with certain modifications. It does not appear to me that there ever was a time in India when theocracy, such as existed among the Jews until the time of Saul, was the prevailing form of government. No doubt, in remote mythical times, kings reigning on the earth were supposed to have communion with the gods, and the latter in their feuds with demons often invoked the aid of earthly kings. Thus Dushmanta,[80] the father of the famous king Bharata, the progenitor of the Bharata race of kings, was always the hope of the Devatas and the terror of the Rakshasas, whenever war broke out between the former and the latter. Still, India never possessed a Moses, who ruled over the people as the vicegerent of God, and who received directly from Him, from time to time, the laws to be administered to them. The belief was never current among the Hindus that they were governed by God Himself, through his earthly representative. The imagination of the Hindus soon conceived, however, a different form of theocracy. To the simple fancy of a highly imaginative people there was something striking and awe-inspiring in the presence of a personage who was so far exalted above the rest of his fellow-beings as to be privileged to put down wickedness with a high hand and to do justice between man and man. The imagination of the populace, therefore, surrounded him with a bright halo of glory and elevated him to the dignity of God Himself. Spiritually, the priests or Brahmans

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[78] *Theory of the State*, p. 325. Oxford, 1885.

[79] *Ibid.* p. 327.

[80] *Mahabharata*, Adiparva, Chapter LXIX. verse 10.

were superior to the king. But in virtue of the high authority and the extraordinary powers he wielded, he made the nearest approach to God, and was, like God, the dispenser of justice and the prompter of all good deeds. Hence kings came to be hedged in with a divinity that was not their own. Manu taught[81] :—"The king is the perfect essence of Majesty, by whose power the goddess of abundance rises in her lotos, in whose valour dwells conquest, and in whose wrath dwells destruction." And further,[82] "Even an infant king must not be despised from an idea that he is a mere mortal; for he is a great deity in human form." The priests, perhaps to serve their own ends, encouraged these notions, till at last kings came to be subjected to the most degrading form of apotheosis. This belief had also a baneful effect upon the minds of the people. The principle of authority was raised to a superhuman height and became by its nature absolute. The subjects did not stand in any human relation to their chief; they were not connected with him by common patriotism, common nationality, or common race. The ruler was raised to an inaccessible height and became omnipotent, and thus from being the primitive type of beauty, humanity, and justice, the king became the symbol of dread, tyranny, and arbitrariness. "Who can serve a king?" sang the poet, "for a man might as well lick the blade of a sword, embrace a lion, or kiss the hood of a serpent."

I cannot close this sketch of kingship in ancient India without making a few reflections on the general character and tendency of ancient Hindu political institutions. Though they may involve some repetition of previous remarks they will help to leave a correct and full impression of the kind of government that obtained in India in early times. The preceding sketch of the institution of kingship shows that a fairly advanced system of government regulated by some constitutional forms prevailed in this country between two thousand and two thousand six or seven hundred years ago. The office of king was not elective but hereditary.[83] When a sovereign died, the eldest of the surviving male members of the royal family succeeded to the throne, unless he was debarred by any special disqualification such as blindness or deafness, in which case one

[81] Manu, vii. 11.

[82] *Ibid.* vii. 8.

[83] The general sketch of the primitive Hindu constitution found in this and the following pages is based upon information gathered from the pages of the *Sukranitisara.* The references are too numerous to be quoted.

more competent for the office was chosen from among the other members of the royal family. Patriarchal notions and ideas greatly coloured the conceptions of the people as regards the functions and duties attached to royalty. The king was regarded as the father of his subjects. He was a true king, who not only afforded protection to his subjects but supplied their material wants and even looked after their education. The sovereign was not arbitrary and despotic. On the other hand he was bound to follow the advice of a set of ministers, mostly Brahmans, who helped him in the different branches of the administration. In these early times, as generally happened in ancient societies of the Aryan type, the king also administered justice in person. He made no laws; for law-making was then the business of neither the government nor any body of men appointed by it. There were law-givers who were supposed to be inspired, the laws dictated by whom were binding as much on the sovereign as on the subjects themselves. The king administered for the most part the laws enacted by these jurists from time to time, and also enforced all local customs, tribal practices, and peculiar usages. There was, therefore, no distinct legislative assembly in those times. Taxes were levied by the king; and were, to a large extent payable in kind, though they were sometimes commuted into a money payment. The sovereign was the 'lord of the soil';[84] and was, in consequence, entitled to a share of what was dug out of the earth, such as the produce of mines, treasure-trove, &c. Small standing armies were maintained by kings, the ranks of which were filled in Manu's time by tall stalwart men taken from among the Matsyas, Panchalas, and the natives of Kurukshetra and Surasena.[85] Forces were led to the battle-field by the commander-in-chief, though the king also accompanied them and took his stand, banner in hand, in the midst of his fighting men. There was a well-organised system of village administration, under which six officers were stationed in every village,[86] one of whom was responsible for the collection of all the royal dues. The village system provided rules for the reception, accommodation, and entertainment of strangers and wayfarers, and for their safe passage out of the villages visited by them. Also safety of person and property was ensured to the public by policemen who patrolled towns and

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[84] Manu, viii. 39.

[85] Ibid. vii. 193.

[86] *Sukranitisara*, Chapter I. lines 585-586. Dr. Oppert's Edition, p. 25.

cities "to scare away theives and adulterers."[87] Provincial government appears in a more developed form in the age of Manu than in that of Sukra. A king in the age of Manu appointed a lord over each village, lords of ten villages, lords of twenty villages, lords of a hundred villages, and lords of a thousand villages,[88] who were all paid by assignments of land. Moreover, every chief town had an officer stationed at it to watch the career of subordinate officials and check their rapacity. The king further made an annual progress through his dominions to listen to the grievances of the people and redress them, if possible.

All these wise rules and regulations must have enabled a king who ruled over a territory of small extent to have a firm hold of the administration of his kingdom, to know his principal officers and superintend their work, to keep his little army in order, to amass wealth and beautify his capital. If the king was a man of unusual vigour and intelligence, the kingdom rose under his rule to an unusual height of greatness and prosperity; if his successor was a weak prince, as he in most cases happened to be, the kingdom fell as rapidly as it had risen in the previous reign. The ministers and officers served their own ends, revenue fell into arrears, the army became disorganized, and the country probably suffered defeat and humiliation at the hands of a neighbouring king. As long, however, as the constitutional forms detailed in this sketch were in force, and as long as a sovereign paid heed to the wishes of his people and any regard to the counsels of his ministers, provided the extent of the territory over which he held sway was not unwieldy, the subjects were happy, and enjoyed the repose and contentment which are so congenial to the people of India. The people had easy access to the officers of government and even to the king himself. The Rajah exercised much personal influence for good. The causes of litigation were few. Distressed villagers and citizens could go up to the authorities and make personal representations, as there were no elaborate rules prohibiting such representations and prescribing particular channels or methods. Under such a system grievances would not be allowed to grow and strengthen, and disaffection would not spread.

All this, however, would only be possible where the tract of country under the dominion of a ruler was of a limited extent. If

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[87] *Sukranitisara*, Chapter II. lines 241-244. Dr. Oppert's Edition, p. 44.

[88] Manu, vii. 119, 120, 121.

it covered a very large area the central power was too feeble to make its influence felt throughout the length and breadth of the empire. At places not within easy reach of the central government, chieftains would rise to eminence; and these would manage to maintain themselves in power undisturbed, by paying occasionally voluntary tribute to the king. What oriental sovereignty tended to degenerate to in the last stages is inimitably described by T. H. Green in his *Philosophical Works*.[89] He says :—"The great despotic empires of the east were in the main tax-collecting institutions. They exercise coercive force over their subjects of the most violent kind for certain purposes at certain times, but they do not impose laws as distinct from particular and occasional commands. Nor do they judicially administer or enforce customary law. In a certain sense the subjects render them habitual obedience, *i. e.*, they habitually submit when the agents of the empire descend on them for taxes and recruits, but in the general tenor of their lives, their action and forbearances are regulated by authorities with which the empire never interferes, with which probably it could not interfere without destroying itself. These authorities can scarcely be said to reside in any determinate person or persons, but so far as they do so, they reside mixedly in priests or exponents of customary religion, in heads of family acting within the family, and in some village-councils acting beyond the limits of the family." This description applies more to a Muhammadan despotism than to a pure Hindu government even in its worst form. It shows, however, what oriental sovereignty was apt to become when extended over provinces of vast size.

That amidst a people who, in times when many of the modern nations of Europe lay yet unborn in the dark depths of a dim futurity, developed such a political system as we see recorded in the *Sukranitisara*, political degeneracy soon set in cannot be a matter of accident. The causes that led to the political decline of the Hindus as a nation are partly internal and partly external, though causes of the latter kind followed upon and in a sense arose out of the causes of the former kind. These causes are to be sought primarily in the physical features of India, in the conditions of her soil, and the peculiar national characteristics which these were the means of developing, and secondarily in the foreign raids and invasions to which the country has from time to time been subjected. The

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[89] Longmans, Green, and Co., 1890. Vol. ii. p. 405.

Hindus, so long as they lived in the valley of the Indus, and retained the vigour, freshness, and buoyancy which must have been theirs in the comparatively cool and temperate climate of the north from which they had come, made rapid progress in several arts and exhibited abundant activity in every direction. They were very courageous, daring, and adventurous, and early in their career pushed forward their conquests towards the east with great success. When in course of time they formed settlements on the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges, and had well-nigh established their dominion in India, they could afford to spend time on speculative pursuits and to please the gods who had showered material blessings on them with sacrifices and oral expressions of joy and gratitude. Not having to contend with a barren sterile soil, or a bleak cheerless climate, they had no opportunity of cultivating habits of hardihood and bravery; but on the other hand gradually lost these traits, which belonged to them by nature. It was also at this time that the caste system was introduced. At the time of its first institution no better means could have been devised for keeping the several classes of the people in check and for making them share the work of the community. The system must, therefore, have worked at first very well. But as it was no creature of the State and came to be considered a divine institution, the State had to conform itself to it. For this reason, further development of the State was impossible. The caste system exercised a disintegrating influence upon society. It prevented united action. It raised the principle of authority to a superhuman height and made people bow to it. All its institutions were directed to the maintenance of order; none of them aimed at progress in life. Its ideal was rest; movement was dangerous. Nor was the climate of India without its effect. The history of the world proves that a temperate climate is best adapted to the growth of man's mind and to the development of all institutions of a permanent character. Hot countries produce indolence only relieved by violent outbursts of the passions; they develop man's passive inclinations at the expense of his active energies. This was so, at least, in India. As the Hindus moved on towards Central India, the climate enervated the people and unfitted them for any sustained exertion. Thus the physical features and climatic conditions of India, as well as her social institutions, were not in any way calculated to call the active energies of her sons into play. Besides, the domination of an ecclesiastical hierarchy in alliance with

monarchy, which was one of the evils which the system of caste brought in its train, proved fatal to the liberties of the people and destructive of all constitutional forms. The people learnt to reverence authority in an unquestioning spirit. The result was that though ground down by oppression they could not wake to rebellion. All sense of their own rights had been banished from their minds. All sense of their own independence had vanished from their hearts. There was a deplorable lack of that patriotic feeling which holds life as little in comparison with freedom. It is remarkable what little part the people at large have played in the political system of India. We hear of assemblies of people called together for political purposes only in the times of the *Ramayana*. Even in village councils, the head and the assembly of elders transacted all business. As has been pointed out by Sir H. S. Maine,[90] "India has nothing answering to the assembly of adult males, which is so remarkable a feature of the ancient Teutonic groups, except the council of village *elders*." The same authority finds[91] "no example of village or of district Government recalling the *assembly of free adult males*." Hence it is that not even the village community has grown into a permanent political institution. Hence also it is that the Hindus are in their present degraded political condition. Under the benign influence of the British Government the people are just beginning to awaken to a sense of their own nationality. It remains to be seen whether this will bear any fruit.

P. NAGABHUSHANAM.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Marquess of Hastings. By Major Ross-of-Bladenburgh. Rulers of India. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1893.

MAJOR ROSS-OF-BLADENBURGH has given us a really admirable sketch of one of the great epoch-making rulers of India. He could hardly have done much better within the limits assigned to him. He has shown good judgment in the choice and arrangement of his material, and has succeeded in giving a very fair and lucid account of the man and his work. The Marquess of Hastings came to India at a most critical period in the history of the Empire. He came with an established reputation as a

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[90] *Village Communities*, p. 122. [91] *Ibid.* p. 124.

soldier and a statesman, but with preconceived ideas on Indian questions which would have led him into grave and possibly irretrievable error had not his breadth of thought and energy of purpose enabled him to profit by experience and rise above the fear of being charged with inconsistency. He came to reverse, he actually carried out and completed, the plans of his great predecessor, the Marquess of Wellesley. It was an inestimable blessing to India that at the time of the great and final struggle with the Maratha powers England was represented by a strong man, who knew his strength and shrank from no responsibility, however great, if by any means he might advance the interests of the land over which he ruled. "The breadth of his policy, the vigour of his intellect, the sagacity of his measures, and the skill of his operations, surprised his enemies, overcame their resistance, reconciled them to his authority, and effected his purpose in every detail. . . . The settlement which the Marquess of Hastings made has been modified but it has never been undone; his work was thorough, far-reaching, and comprehensive. Modern India is largely based upon the results which he attained." But the attitude of Lord Hastings to the natives of India entitles him to grateful remembrance even more than the brilliant results which followed his rule. He was the first English ruler who directly sought the moral and intellectual improvement of the people of India, and it was chiefly owing to his influence and example that the old, narrow, selfish policy of English officialdom was abandoned and the way prepared for the inauguration of a new and better epoch in which earnest and persistent effort is made to develop the resources of the country and promote the welfare of all classes of the people.

The Idylls of Theocritus. Translated into English Verse, by James Henry Hallard, M.A., Oxon. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1894.

In translating the Idylls of Theocritus into English verse Mr. Hallard has aimed at satisfying the requirements not only of the exacting scholar but also of the man of letters. To make a translation that will satisfy both of these is not an easy task, and when the translation is in verse the difficulty is much increased. Mr. Hallard appears to us to be uncommonly succcessful in accomplishing this twofold purpose. His translation is a close reproduction of the original, and yet it is at the same time pleasant to read as an English book.

Mr. Hallard employs a number of different metres, though Theocritus uses only two or three, for in this way alone, he considers, can the 'infinite variety' of the Greek be represented in English. For narrative he uses the classical hexameter, and his hexameters are very much above the average. This is no doubt largely due to his endeavour to avoid the

gross false qualities, caused by treating as short vowels that precede two or more consonants, so constantly found in English hexameters. Some lines, no doubt, are a little forced, but such are less common than is usual in most imitations of the classical models. All through his translations, in fact, Mr. Hallard shows a fine ear for metre, and sometimes he writes very musically. As a specimen of his work the well-known description of the orchard in the seventh Idyll,—'The Harvest Home'—may be quoted:—

> "Over us masses of poplar and elm waved; sacred water
> Babbling and murmuring gushed from a grot of the nymphs hard by us,
> Sunburnt merry cicalas aloft on the shadowy branches
> Plied their ceaseless song, and afar in the bushes of bramble
> Gaily the tree-frogs chirped, and the crested larks and the finches
> Sang, and the turtle moaned, and over a plashing water
> Darted golden bees; all things smelt richly of summer,
> Richly of autumn; pears and apples in bountiful plenty
> Rolled at our feet and sides, and down to the earth all round us
> Sloe-trees bent their trailing boughs thick-laden with berries."

For dialogue blank verse is employed, and it is in this metre, consequently, that the chatter of 'The Ladies at the Festival of Adonis' is reproduced. On reading it one feels difficulty in believing that it was written about an Alexandrian crowd two thousand years ago; and Mr. Hallard has well preserved the humour and spirit of the original in his rendering.

The number of excellent translations constantly appearing makes ignorance of the works of the classical writers inexcusable, even on the part of those who know little Latin and less Greek, and any one who wishes to make the acquaintance of the originator of the Idyll could not do better than read Theocritus in the English dress provided for him by Mr. Hallard. It only remains to add that the get up of the book is excellent, and worthy of its publishers and its contents.

A Treatise on Hydrostatics. By Alfred George Greenhill. London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1894.

It is somewhat difficult to indicate briefly the scope of this work or to say what object it is best fitted to serve. Like all that Professor Greenhill writes, its contents are marked by a strong individuality. The aim of the volume is to develop the subject from the outset by means of illustrations of existing problems, chosen in general on as large a scale as possible, and carried out to their numerical results. The reason given for this mode of treatment is a very sound one; and we have no doubt that any student who masters the numerous and important propositions treated of by Professor Greenhill will, as he hopes, acquire a real working knowledge of the subject. And in these days such a knowledge is coming more and more to be regarded as the only kind of knowledge

that is worth possessing. Yet we should hardly be prepared to put this work into the hands of students beginning the study of hydrostatics. For it seems to us that the amount of attention which it gives to practical problems would prove distracting rather than helpful to anyone endeavouring for the first time to grasp the chief fundamental principles of the subject. What, however, appears to be a disadvantage of the method of treatment adopted, may be due rather to a want of clearness in the arrangement and to the author's somewhat spasmodic style of writing. Fundamental truths of hydrostatics are apt in his hands to get obscured, too, in wealth of illustrations from other branches of mathematical science. But apart from the author there is another reason which has undoubtedly something to do with the defect to which we are referring. In view of the extent and the varied nature of the information contained in the volume, the size of the page ought to have been greater, and the matter more clearly displayed. We differ from the author in regard to the employment of a type of uniform size throughout.

While we cannot recommend Professor Greenhill's treatise as a text-book for beginners, we have no hesitation in recommending it to those who have learned to some extent to recognise their bearings in the subject. And to engineering students we have no doubt it will prove eminently useful. We shall best indicate the extent of the information it contains by enumerating a few of the practical problems dealt with. In the chapter on hydrostatic thrust, for instance, we have a discussion of the problem of the thrust due to an aggregation of cylindrical particles or spherules, and in the chapters dealing with the equilibrium of floating bodies the author treats of the stability and the oscillations of a ship. The theory of the various pneumatic machines is very fully discussed from a practical point of view; and in the chapters dealing with gaseous laws we find such headings as 'Isothermal and Convective Equilibrium of the Atmosphere', 'Maximum Draught of a Chimney', 'The Theory of the Balloon', and 'The Gasholder'. The theory of exhaustion by means of air-pumps is very fully discussed, though it is rather strange that no mention is made of Bianchi's pump. There is a chapter on the tension of vessels and capillarity, one on the pressure of liquid in moving vessels, one on hydraulics, and the last chapter gives a short account of the mechanical theory of heat.

The author's peculiar notions regarding 'mass' and 'weight' are of course in evidence throughout the book, but they are not likely to cause much difficulty to non-practical students, and to engineers, if we can regard Professor Greenhill as their spokesman, they will present no difficulty at all. Free use has been made of the symbols and operations of the calculus, though alternative demonstrations by elementary methods are occasionally given. The diagrams, which are intended to represen

accurately to scale the objects described, add considerably to the value of the book.

Macmillan's Colonial Library.

Cawnpore. By the Right Honourable Sir G. O. Trevelyan.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN'S *Cawnpore* still retains the reputation it attained on its first appearance, of being the most brilliant book of all the Mutiny literature. The care with which it was compiled is as admirable as the style in which it is written, and no one can read it even to-day without vividly realising the successive scenes in the great tragedy. We are glad to find that it has reached one more edition, and that Messrs. Macmillan and Co. have added it in its present form to their admirable Colonial Library.

The Flower of Forgiveness. By Flora Annie Steel.

MRS. STEEL gave us a masterpiece in *Miss Stuart's Legacy*, a faithful picture of life in the Punjab. It is inevitable that anything which follows from her pen should be judged by the expectations which her former book raised. So far that comparison cannot be complete in the present case. *Miss Stuart's Legacy* was a novel; *The Flower of Forgiveness* is a series of stories, sixteen in number, occupying less than 400 pages. But it may be that, on this account, the test is all the harder, being multiplied sixteen times. And yet if it is, there can be no doubt as to the result. All the stories cannot be said to attain an equal degree of excellence, but hardly one falls below a very high standard, while several are perfect gems. Mrs. Steel, while in India, spent much of her time in getting acquainted with the natives and bettering their condition. The fruits of her close and sympathetic contact are markedly seen in these stories. She knows that sixth part of native life which, as she makes one of her characters say, is all that an alien race can ever hope to know. But the manner in which Mrs. Steel can tell her tale is the charming thing. She has the spirit of the East in her narrative—fatalism and mysticism weave their magic tendrils round the whole, and the effect is perfect. Two of the stories have almost a didactic air—they are aimed at the Government for giving to the Punjab peasants the power to alienate their old possessions and so allowing them to become wholly under the power of the money-lender. But the figures of Anunt Râm, and of 'London' could scarce be drawn more vividly or in such a way that the lesson could be more plainly understood without being obtrusive. Nothing could, perhaps, equal the tension of feeling worked into the story which names the book, when he who was thought to be a Brahman is shown to be a Sudra and is left alone to perish. The wonderful faithfulness of an old Sikh servant, and his power to bring his master to a saner way of looking at things in the tale 'For the Faith' is de-

lightful. 'The Bhut-Baby' pictures most vividly the disturbance into which a village is thrown by the birth of an albino. Surely the infinite pathos of native life has seldom been better presented than in 'Heera Nund', and the female character-painting in 'In the House of a Coppersmith', and 'Faizullah', is incomparable. When we get to the end of the book we cry for more, and, doubtless, Mrs. Steel, out of her abundance, will not let us cry in vain.

Select Specimens of the Great French Writers. Edited by G. E. Fasnacht. London and New York : Macmillan and Co., 1894.

M. Fasnacht has put together a very fair French anthology from the more famous writers of the last three centuries, though his admiration for the age of Louis XIV. perhaps mars the proportions of the book. In addition he has borrowed two introductory sketches of the history of French literature and various biographical accounts and 'appreciations' of the writers from whose writings he gives extracts—all in French. We cannot help feeling that in his anxiety to combine the two ends of an anthology and a history of French literature, he has somewhat lessened the usefulness of the book from each point of view. Nevertheless it will form a pleasant reading book to those who have a sufficient knowledge of French to read it easily but a scanty knowledge of French literary history which they yet desire to extend.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS.

Those who have been agitating for the institution of an examination in India for admission to the Indian Civil Service are naturally very much dissatisfied with the way in which the question has been settled by the Secretary of State. They cannot, however, charge the Secretary of State with having dealt with the question in an arbitrary manner or without due regard to the opinions of those whose experiences in India have best qualified them to guide him in the matter. The only official pronouncement in favour of the proposal to hold simultaneous examinations was that sent in by the Government of Madras, and even that was accompanied by a very strong minute of dissent. It does not necessarily follow, of course, that the decision of the Secretary of State is right, because it is in accordance with the views of the majority of the officials consulted ; but in this case the views of the majority have undoubtedly been based on considerations that could not easily have been set aside. No one, we think, can honestly read what has been said by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick and Sir Charles Crosthwaite without coming to the conclusion arrived at by the Secretary of State.

Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick has entered into a very full discussion of the whole question. In order to indicate clearly the present position regarding it, he takes a brief glance at the past history of the conditions of admission to the Civil Service of India. The system of admission by competitive examination was introduced because it was considered that it was more likely to give men well qualified to discharge the duties of an Indian Civil Servant than any other system. A result of the adoption of this system has been, says Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, that the appointments have come to he regarded by the few in England and India who have a chance of successfully competing for them chiefly in the light of prizes offered as rewards for merit of a certain sort, and in the competition for which all persons having merit of that sort are entitled to be placed on an equal footing down to the smallest details. If this were the correct and only way of viewing the question of appointment to the higher posts in the service, Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick would admit the validity of the chief objections that have been urged against the mode of appointment adopted in accordance with the recommendations of the Public Service Commission. But then, he holds, this is not the only way of viewing the question. The small class of people, whether English or Indian, who are directly interested in the question of admission to the service are deserving of all possible consideration, but the question is, How can we best serve the interests of the hundreds of millions of people for whose government we have made ourselves responsible? Could this end be accomplished if half or a majority of the higher appointments were filled by natives of India? This is what in Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick's opinion would soon be the case if simultaneous examinations were instituted; and in spite of the opinion of the Government of Madras those who have any acquaintance with the aptitude possessed by natives of this country for acquiring knowledge from books and reproducing it at examinations will be inclined to adopt Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick's view.

In giving a decision, therefore, on the whole question the Secretary of State was bound to consider whether the interests of the masses of the people of this country would be properly safeguarded if through the institution of simultaneous examinations the proportion of natives in the higher appointments were to be become very much greater than it now is. The body of opinion which he had before him was decidedly against any material raising of the proportion. In this Presidency the proportion might perhaps be safely increased, but Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick and Sir Charles Crosthwaite are strongly of opinion that in their Provinces the English element in the services at present is by no means stronger than is necessary. Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick draws attention to several of the difficulties which beset the administration of an Indian district. Chief among these are the endless divisions and disputes be-

tween different classes of the people. And contrary to what might have been expected, the bitterness of these disputes has been intensified rather than diminished by the general progress of the country. One reason assigned by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick as to some extent accounting for this is the sense of liberty, equality, and individual right which a regular administration of justice and the development of political ideas have introduced. Besides the numerous quarrels that have to be reckoned with, the constant oppression of the weak by the strong adds to the difficulties that beset the administration of an Indian district. There are, says Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, various rough and ready methods of meeting these difficulties—methods which are employed in Native States, and which used to be employed by some officials in British India. But, as he says, we are now-a-days bound to employ only English methods minutely prescribed by our law; and to deal with the prevailing state of things by those methods is no easy task. The men that are required for the Covenanted Service are therefore men of high courage, both physical and moral, men of resource, capable of quickly grasping a complicated position and taking the responsibility of acting on their own view of it, men thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the English system and incapable of resorting to un-English methods, and lastly, men of perfect impartiality, absolutely unconnected with any sect or faction and above even a suspicion of a leaning towards either side of a pending controversy. This being so, the question is whether this aggregate of qualities is to be found in Indians to the same extent as in Europeans. Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick is not without hope that some day it will be possible to answer this question in the affirmative, but he says it is impossible so to answer it at present. Indians and Orientals generally are of a different moral type from Europeans. By this it is not meant that Indians taken all in all are worse than Europeans, but simply that they are lacking in those moral qualities which fit a man to govern the country as we are bound to govern it. And the defect is one which education can only to a very limited extent remedy. For a man's moral nature is largely the result of the various influences of the society to which he belongs, and so long as he belongs to that society he cannot emancipate himself from these influences. In view of considerations like these it would certainly be unwise to take any step likely to result in a material weakening of the English element in the Indian Civil Service.

Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick lays great stress on the fact that an Englishman stands absolutely clear of sects and factions, while an Indian unless he has become altogether denationalised has the greatest difficulty in keeping clear of them. The position of isolation occupied by the Englishman has of course its disadvantages. The English official, generally speaking, cannot know the people so well as a native, though, as

Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick says, we are apt to overestimate the knowledge possessed by native officials. For on account of the peculiar constitution of Indian society they are in regard to many matters as completely ignorant as Englishmen.

Having dealt with the comparative fitness of European and Indian officials for the higher duties of administration, Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick touches briefly upon a topic that has a very intimate bearing on the whole question at issue. He says that, granting that Indians are less efficient than Europeans, it may be asked whether it would not be wise for us as a foreign Government to employ them more largely, even at some sacrifice of efficiency, with a view to further popularising our administration. To this he would answer yes, if it would really have the effect of making our administration more acceptable to the great mass of the people. But he is perfectly sure it would not. To the great mass of the people, he says, it is a matter of very little importance that they are under a foreign Government, so long as the taxes are kept low and order is maintained, so long as justice is impartially administered and the strong are prevented from oppressing the weak. The Englishman's manner may not always be pleasant, but the manner of a Hindu or Muhammadan official towards the common people is apt to be a very great deal more unpleasant. So far as the experience of many goes, when the people express any preference on account of race it is in favour of English officers. They often ask to have their cases transferred to an English officer. The substitution of Indian for English officials in the higher posts would be popular only with the advanced Indians, who still form but an infinitesimal fraction of the population. These men deserve all possible consideration, but, as Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick says, there is a limit to what we should be justified in doing for so very small a class when the interests of the great mass of the population are at stake. If these men should ever become leaders and representatives of the great mass of the population, the question would assume a different aspect, but there is little prospect of their attaining that position for some time to come.

The question as to how the appointments reserved for natives of India should be filled is dealt with both by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick and Sir Charles Crosthwaite. Both hold that even in this case selection by competitive examination pure and simple is impracticable. Not only would this method fail if applied to India as a whole, but it would not give satisfactory results even when applied to a single Province. And this for very much the same reason as makes the institution of simultaneous examinations impracticable. Selection by competitive examination would at present and doubtless for many years to come practically exclude Muhammadans from the service. This would be a very great calamity, for though Muhammadans are far behind the Hindus in educa-

tion, they are as a rule stronger and more reliable men than the Hindus. Moreover, a large proportion of the upper and influential classes are Muhammadans; and it would seem to be very important, especially in North India, that the State should command the services of men of position and influence. The conclusion arrived at by Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick on this matter is that in the Punjab and the other parts of India with which he is acquainted, things should be left for the present and for a reasonable number of years to come on the footing on which they have been recently placed by the Government of India and the Secretary of State in accordance with the recommendations of the Public Service Commission.

To the July number of the *Harvest Field* the Rev. William Goudie contributes an important article on 'The Pariahs and the Land'. Mr. Goudie says it is significant of the importance of the pariah problem that while it has now been before the public for more than three years there is as yet no sign that interest in the subject has begun to wane. The movement in favour of the pariahs was launched under very favourable auspices; and the pariah has for some time wanted not for a voice to proclaim his wrongs or to demand redress. His case has received the attention of the Government; and it has been confidently said by many that the pariah now possesses his Magna Charta. But, as Mr. Goudie says, it must not be thought that the problem is solved and that the way of the reformer and the philanthropist will henceforth be easy. Many suggestions have been made for the solution of the pariah problem; but little has yet been done to test the efficiency of the methods advocated.

Among the proposals for the improvement of the condition of the lower classes is the assignment of waste lands to them for cultivation, in the hope that they may be able to work their way into a position of freedom and comfort. At first sight this seems a good and wise proposal. But, Mr. Goudie says, to those who know the pariahs well it will be evident that in itself the proposal can go but a little way towards meeting the whole of the need, and that without the aid of other measures the scheme must largely fail even in its own sphere. For the problem is not simply one of providing sufficient work for the pariah, or even of securing to him a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. Two thousand years of oppression have ground the grit and fibre of manhood out of him; and what is most needed is not so much an accession of comfort as the opening up of a way by which be may begin to seek and to retain his lost manhood. This, says Mr. Goudie, points to education as the first and chief means to be applied, and the Government provision under this head is worthy of all praise. But in the present circumstances of the pariah education is both impossible and undesir-

able. It is impossible because the caste man forbids it and forcibly prevents it and because the children cannot be spared from breadwinning in order to acquire it, and it is undesirable because it will unfit the children for village service under present conditions. What is needed before and along with education is some alternative means of making a living. For to say that the pariah has sufficient work is not to say that he has sufficient to eat.

Now as a practicable alternative for village serfdom the assignment of waste land for cultivation at once suggests itself. This proposal, as Mr. Goudie says, has much that at first sight commends it. In the first place it does not involve emigration, which the majority of the people have not the courage to contemplate. Next, the labour proposed is productive labour which touches a new source of maintenance and does not bring the labourer into unhealthy rivalry with other competitors in a labour market already crowded. It is, moreover, well suited for the rebuilding in the pariah of a decayed manhood. It is reasonable to suppose that, thriftless and improvident though he be, he will become industrious and thrifty when he knows that his earnings will be secure to him and that his living will depend on his own exertions; and also that the hope of possession and the sense of freedom will weave in him again the tissues of manhood and place him once more a man and an equal among his fellows. Lastly, says Mr. Goudie, there is a further fitness in the proposal when it is remembered that the pariahs are the disinherited children of the soil, and that to give them again some small possession in it is only to restore them to a position which their forefathers held with honour.

The proposal to assign waste lands to the pariahs seems thus to be an eminently reasonable one. But the difficulties that lie in the way of carrying it out are great. In the first place the amount of waste land available is generally least where most is required. This of course does not touch the reasonableness or practicability of the proposal: it merely limits the extent to which it is capable of affording relief. In the next place it is very difficult to put the pariah in possession of land and equally difficult to maintain him in his holding, and this from reasons entirely apart from the question of his own thrift. In order to succeed as a cultivator under present circumstances he must not only be industrious and provident but he must also have intelligence and strength to hold his own in the face of persistent opposition. Something has been done for him by Government, but according to Mr. Goudie the recent orders of Government on this subject fall far short of what was expected, and, on the most charitable interpretation, cannot be called generous. It is more than probable, however, Mr. Goudie says, that the pariah movement will in the end profit from the fact that Government has done less than it might have been expected to do, and that for the present only a

small portion of the uncultivated waste has been thrown open to the pariah.

For the great difficulty is not so much in obtaining land as in making successful cultivators and landholders of men who have hitherto been slaves. Mr. Goudie is of opinion that the great majority of the pariahs are not fit to be placed in the position in which it is proposed to place them, and that for the present the step from serf to landholder is too long a *stride for them.* To begin with, they have not the necessary capital, so that their first act on obtaining land must be to mortgage it for bullocks, and their second to mortgage the prospective crop. But again, supposing a pariah had the necessary capital, does he possess the necessary equipment of personal qualities? Mr. Goudie holds that with some exceptions he has it not; and he thinks that for the present we ought to make the pariah content with the position of a servant, always striving, however, to improve the conditions of service. He gives an instance to show how land may pass through a pariah's hands without doing him any good. At the same time he is glad to acknowledge that some pariahs are capable of cultivating land to advantage. The inference from all this is that any simple proposal such as the assignment of waste lands will not suffice to solve the pariah problem, and that there are many features in the problem with which the Government cannot deal. This the Government itself has acknowledged.

But while the action of Government must necessarily be limited, it is in the power of Government to render valuable assistance to those who *have taken* up the work of pariah emancipation. Mr. Goudie criticises the attitude that Government has taken up in regard to the whole movement, and in conclusion suggests some ways in which by the expenditure of a little public money some of the arrears due to the pariah might be paid off.

To the same number of the *Harvest Field* the Rev. R. W. Sinclair of Gogha contributes a short article on the principles of missionary advocacy that is well deserving of attention. A legitimate complaint, he says, against the ordinary type of missionary report, address, or periodical is that it is too highly coloured. This point was remarked on by Mr. Goudie in the paper which he contributed to the May number of the *Harvest Field*; but Mr. Sinclair thinks that Mr. Goudie throws too much blame on the missionaries. Mr. Sinclair holds that the chief blame rests with the public for which the missionaries have to write. He denounces in scathing terms the commercial spirit that seems to characterise many of the supporters of missions. He says that when men begin to test the comparative success of missions by taking the quotient of the average expenditure by the average number of converts, either money has become very dear to them or souls very cheap. And if a

fairly written story of the daily life of a missionary, giving typical instances of his ordinary work, does not interest home readers, he holds that the fault lies with them, and says there is no use in trying to cater for such people by picking out sweets and spices to send to them, filling them with a false enthusiasm and a passing wave of excitement by exceptional and sensational stories of success. This is well said, but it takes for granted that the story of the daily life of a missionary which is put before home readers is invariably such that they ought to feel interested in it. Mr. Sinclair will hardly contend, we presume, that such is likely to be the case, even when the picture drawn is true to fact. So that he and Mr. Goudie are probably at one on this matter.

To the change that has come over the conception of history and of the function of the historian Mr. Sinclair finds a parallel in the change that is passing over the literature of missions. Instead of thrilling stories of missionary adventure, of interesting converts, and of vast spiritual upheavals in heathen communities we are getting more light on the character and progress of routine missionary work and the ordinary Native Christians. The vices of the heathen are not so much dwelt upon, but the failings of the converts are beginning to receive due attention in mission reports. Still, says Mr. Sinclair, there is yet much to wish for. Missionaries, he says, should endeavour in the spirit of Bible history to give the dark side of the picture as well as the bright, and in the spirit of the modern historian to dwell on the prevailing features of what passes before them rather than on exceptional and sensational incidents. To this we might add that since, as Mr. Sinclair says, most missionaries are now-a-days specialists, they should write as specialists and as critics only of that part of missionary work of which they have special knowledge.

The Sixth Annual Report of the Madras Native Christian Association shows that the Association is rapidly growing in strength and that the work which it does is being appreciated by the Native Christian community. The number of admissions during the year under review was the largest on record. The Association is rapidly making headway in the mofussil, and last year there was a large accession of new members from the districts of Tinnevelly and Tanjore. Complaint is, however, made that a large number of educated Native Christians are still holding aloof. As to the financial condition of the Association the accounts for the year under review show that the balance at the end of the year was much smaller than the balance with which the year opened, but among the items of expenditure we notice one that ought to have appeared in the accounts for 1892, and there may be more of this kind, so that we can hardly say whether the finances are in a satisfactory condition or

otherwise. We notice that the names of eleven members were struck off for non-payment of subscriptions. We are not, however, astonished at this, considering how lax people in this country generally are in regard to their financial obligations.

We are glad that increased interest is being taken in the meetings of the Committee. In October last the Committee appointed a sub-committee of three for the purpose of investigating and reporting on the social and legal disabilities of Native Christians. This sub-committee is working in co-operation with a similar sub-committee of the Madras Missionary Conference; and it may be hoped that the result of their joint labours will materially strengthen the hands of missionaries and further the interests of the Native Christian community. Another matter to which the Committee gives its attention is the employment of Native Christians and the better representation of the community in the public service. In this we wish the Association every success. There is, however, in connection with this part of its work one danger into which we hope it may not fall. We hope it will not espouse the cause of any one who professes to have a grievance against his employer until it has gone thoroughly into the facts of the case. This is a matter in which any association that undertakes to give assistance to individuals ought to proceed with the utmost caution.

We have already referred to the resolution passed by the Association on the caste question, and we have also noticed Mr. Satthianadhan's paper on the census of 1891 and the Native Christian community.

The Report of the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society for the year 1893 is on the whole a very satisfactory record of work done. The circulation of the Scriptures, both in the general and in the colportage departments, shows a considerable advance on the circulation of the previous year, and, with one exception, the figures for the past year are the highest yet reached. The subscriptions also exhibit an encouraging increase. Good progress was made in the work of translation and revision in several languages; and, for the first time, a portion of the Bible in the Khondi dialect was issued for circulation among the aboriginal tribes on the Ganjam hills. The growing demand for the Scriptures in the vernaculars of the Presidency has necessitated the printing of larger editions than in former years, and the opening up of fresh centres for distributing them. It is to be hoped that the Committee will not be prevented from want of funds from meeting the demands that are being made upon them to extend their work in this direction. We notice that the distribution of the Scriptures in villages and out-of-the-way places is being taken up more largely than formerly by missionaries and mission agents; and if a considerable saving in the cost of distribution can be effected in this way it will be possible to increase the production. This is especially

desirable in view of the fact that the resources of the parent Society have for several years been in a somewhat straitened condition.

Owing to the disastrous results of the Matriculation Examination of 1892 the number of volumes distributed to university students last year was very considerably smaller than the number distributed in the previous year, though there was a large increase in the number of Bibles distributed to candidates who were successful at the Degree Examination. It is said that the volumes are cordially welcomed by the recipients and that in most cases they are carefully read and their contents discussed by the students among themselves and in their homes. It is also stated that not a few Hindus give contributions to the Society. Evidently the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society has a much higher opinion of Hindu students and schoolboys than we have been accustomed to find expressed in the columns of certain religious journals.

COLLEGE NOTES.

THE school department reopened on Wednesday the 4th July and the College a fortnight later. Nothing very different from usual marked either reopening. A certain feature, however, characterised both, on which I feel disposed to make a few remarks. Unfortunately it is only too customary for the attendance, both in school and college, to be smaller than it ought to be for the first few days. It is a point in regard to which I wish that I could report greater progress. In itself it may appear a small thing that a student should lose one or two days of a new term, especially when these days are of necessity very largely taken up with such merely mechanical affairs as the payment of fees and the rearrangement of rolls. Yet to treat this as being in reality as well as in appearance a thing of small account, would be an entire mistake. Lateness in returning on the part of any considerable proportion of a class renders it impossible to get the indispensable preliminaries arranged at once, as they ought to be, and thus puts off the date at which steady and profitable work can be completely set agoing. This is a very important consideration, especially in a large school or college in which something like perfection in all matters bearing on order and arrangement is the first condition of efficient instruction. But a still more important consideration is that laxity about return to duty at the exactly proper time points to weakness and untrustworthiness of character. Altogether apart from its directly beneficial effects, a full attendance on the reopening day would be a valuable indication that the College was exerting that moral influence which is far more precious than even the best

intellectual results it can produce. Such a full attendance, even if it had no importance in itself, would be an evidence, slight but sure, that *duty* was a word of deep significance to all connected with the College. Any deficiency in the evidence of this is regrettable; and I cannot boast of the amount of the evidence that is forthcoming among us. Nor can I console myself with the thought that even if small this particular evidence of a sense of duty being actively at work is decidedly increasing. Upon the whole it is not diminishing. The state of matters in this respect is much the same as it has been for the last twenty years. In the College classes the proportion present on the first day of a term has of late been slightly greater than it used to be; but neither in school or College has it gone on steadily improving as one would like it to do, in recent years. In fact any slight change observable this year has not been on the side of improvement.

It may be that, if judgment were to go merely by the standard of what is customary, the College would have no special reason to be ashamed with regard to this particular point. I have no means of knowing what the facts regarding other institutions are, though it might be interesting to get hold of them. Here, in the College, about three-fourths of the number on the rolls for last term presented themselves on the opening day. In the school department the proportion was a little greater. The record elsewhere in South India may be more satisfactory than this, or less satisfactory;—I cannot tell. But even if the proportionate attendance on the first few days should turn out to be better with us than anywhere else, the state of matters is not what it ought to be. Things will not be right in this respect, nor will there be the evidence of regard for duty which the commencement of a new term ought to furnish, until the number absent during the first day or two sinks from twenty-five or twenty-six per cent. to the seven or eight per cent. for whose absence ordinary sickness and similar causes may be held sufficient to account. Perhaps the present reference to the matter may contribute somewhat to the attainment of this standard in the opening days of coming terms.

Mr. Russell returned from his year's furlough on the morning of the 18th of July.

To our great regret, Mr. P. Singaravelu Mudaliyar has, for personal reasons, seen fit to resign the post as Assistant Professor of Physical Science which he has filled, though not under the same designation, and filled with credit, for the last ten years. His place has been taken by Mr. P. Lakshminarasu Naidu, a former student of the College, who has been Professor of Physics in the S. P. G. College at Trichinopoly for the last seven years. Mr. Lakshminarasu was the Arni Medalist of 1882.

Mr. E. Jacob John, B.L., has resigned his place as one of the English Tutors after good service for more than three years in that capacity. For several years before his appointment to the English tutorship he had been a teacher in the school. It is not ordinarily expedient and not ordinarily allowed that Tutors should vacate office at any time except at the commencement of the first term of the year. In the case of Mr. John there were special reasons which made it not unsuitable that his resignation should be accepted at the beginning of the second term. Arrangements for filling the vacancy are being made when I write and will probably be completed before these Notes are published. Mr. John has begun the practice of his profession at Trivandrum.

The first place at the competitive examination for the Mysore Civil Service has been taken by Mr. K. K. Chandy, who graduated last year in History, and is the present holder of the Thurso studentship. The Examination Board has made known that Mr. Chandy stood far above any of the other competitors. He has already been appointed a probationary Assistant Commissioner.

William Miller.

SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY JOTTINGS.

Mr. J. Theodore Bent gave an interesting account of his exploration of the Hadramut at a recent meeting of the Royal Geographical Society. Accompanied by Mrs. Bent and by an accomplished Indian surveyor, Imam Sharif, he travelled along the south coast of Arabia, and over the high plateau by which it is backed, into the broad Hadramut valley which lies between this southern plateau and the high desert land further north. Where the plateau is trenched by the Hadramut valley they found the tributary valleys to be remarkably short and steep, all of them with floors nearly on the same level as the main valley and terminating at their heads in steep cliffs seven or eight hundred feet high. Mr. Bent considers that their appearance did not justify the theory of water erosion, and is inclined to regard them as lateral fjords excavated when the Hadramut was an arm of the sea. The rocks are exposed in steep cliffs of horizontal stratified red sandstone. The valley bottoms are richly cultivated, thronged with villages shaded by palm groves, and forming a striking contrast with the shadeless sterility of the plateau and the desert.

The theory having been advanced that the great prevalence of decay of the teeth at the present day is due to excessive nerve strain,

Mr. J. Howard Mummery points out that the researches of his father proved conclusively that caries is not confined to civilised races or to modern times. In a communication to the Odontological Society in 1870 his father brought together the results of an inquiry in which he examined over 2000 skulls. Among the skulls of ancient Egyptians which he examined he found caries in 41·7 per cent., among the Anglo-Saxon skulls, 15·8 per cent., among the skulls of Romano-Britons, 28·7 per cent., and among miscellaneous skulls of ancient Britons, 20·5 per cent. Similar results were obtained on the examination of skulls of savage races. Among the Tasmanians 27·7 per cent. were found affected, among native Australians, 20·5 per cent., among East Africans, 24·2 per cent., and among West Africans, 28 per cent.

On the other hand this paper brought out the fact that caries is rare among peoples who subsist principally upon animal food, the Esquimaux, for example, showing only two cases of caries among sixty-nine skulls examined; and that the largest amount of disease occurs among the races that live on a mixed or exclusively vegetable diet. Mr. Mummery considers that the decay of the teeth among civilised races is due to structural defects, arising from inherited weakness or imperfect nutrition during the development of the teeth, combined with the use of soft cooked food, which is long retained in contact with them and is of a nature particularly liable to fermentation.

THE diurnal and annual range of the barometer has been very carefully studied by Dr. J. Hann. He considers that while there are many theories as to the cause of the double daily oscillation of the barometer, none of them satisfactorily explains the whole of the phenomena. With regard to the yearly range he points out that in both the northern and the southern hemispheres the minimum occurs in July, so that apparently it depends more upon the position of the earth with reference to the sun than upon the seasons. He agrees with Lord Kelvin that the only means of obtaining a satisfactory explanation of the subject will be by harmonic analysis.

A STRIKING similarity between the after-glow of a Geissler tube and the first glow of solid bodies has been observed by Carl Kirn. He states that when he examined the after-glow with a spectroscope he found that at first it gave a continuous spectrum but that it rapidly shrank into a band lying between wave-lengths 555 and 495 $\mu\mu$., and that this disappeared more slowly, diminishing in breadth as it did so. The position of the final glow corresponds with the region of greatest brightness in the solar spectrum, coinciding almost exactly with the line E. It does not, however, have the characteristic colour of this part of the spectrum, but is a pale yellowish grey, which becomes darker as extinction

approaches. This is in accordance with what Weber observed when a solid body is heated. The first light which becomes visible is not dark red but grey, and when it is seen in the spectroscope it appears as a band in the yellow-green part of the spectrum, the explanation being that this is the kind of light to which the eye is most sensitive.

THE number of distinct differences of colour and brightness which can be discriminated by the normal eye has been estimated by Professor König at 56,000. He bases his calculations on a series of experiments which he carried out in conjunction with Professor Dieterici which enabled him to determine the mean error existing when two tints are matched. These show that the sensitiveness of the eye to differences of tint reaches a maximum at two parts of the spectrum, one being in the yellow and the other in the greenish-blue, and that the total number of distinct differences that can be discriminated is 165. In the case of a dichromatic eye the number of differences that can be discriminated is 140. Another series of experiments enabled him to determine the number of differences of brightness that can be discriminated. Starting with the faintest light and increasing it up to a blinding intensity he found that whether the eye is trichromatic or dichromatic the number is 650. In deducing from these data the total number of possible visual differences which can be discriminated it has to be kept in view that as the intensity of light diminishes so also does the number of tints that can be discriminated. The total number is, therefore, approximately $80 \times 700 = 56,000$. Professor Bezold suggests that by using complementary colours it may be possible to discriminate a much larger number of tints, since two colours which are indistinguishable when compared directly often give quite different complementary colours and can thus be distinguished.

OXYGEN has been found by Dr. Ewan to exhibit sometimes greater chemical activity when dilute than when more concentrated. When he allowed phosphorus to oxidise in oxygen saturated with aqueous vapour at 20° he found that for pressures greater than 700 mm. the rate of oxidation is very slow but that when the pressure is reduced below 700 mm. it increases rapidly until it reaches a maximum. If the change in the rate of evaporation of the phosphorus which is produced by the change of pressure is taken into account, the rate of oxidation becomes then directly proportional to the pressure of the oxygen. With dry oxygen the action could not be made out with certainty because of the coating of oxide which forms on the surface of the phosphorus. With sulphur and dry oxygen he found that the rate of oxidation becomes proportional to the square root of the pressure. From this it would

seem that in the absence of water the active part of the oxygen is only that very small part of it which is broken up into atoms.

THE employment of disease-causing microbes for the destruction of field mice and similar vermin has been advocated by M. Jean Danysz. The microbe which he says should be used for the purpose of producing artificially a destructive epidemic among these animals is very similar to the bacillus of duck cholera, but is not identical with it as it is not pathogenic either to these birds or to other fowls.

THE committee on entrance examinations for the Army, appointed by Parliament last year, have in the report they have just submitted made the very important proposal that an elementary knowledge of chemistry and heat should be made practically obligatory for Woolwich. The opinions of the head masters of the public schools were obtained by them and found to be almost entirely in favour of giving more weight to science in the case of Woolwich candidates. Indeed, Dr. Percival, of Rugby, Mr. Welldon, of Harrow, and many others included obligatory science in the general scheme of examinations.

A NEW Dictionary of the Bible is to be published by Messrs. A. and C. Black before the end of 1896. It was originally planned by Professor Robertson Smith in conjunction with his friend Dr. Sutherland Black. The work was interrupted by Professor Robertson Smith's illness, and last February he asked Professor Cheyne to take over his share of the editorship. The new dictionary will receive contributions from a large number of British and foreign scholars, and the editors wish to avail themselves as much as possible of the material (unpublished as well as published) left at their disposal by Professor Robertson Smith. Most probably the articles on biblical subjects contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* by Professor Robertson Smith will be incorporated in the new dictionary, which thus promises to be one of exceptional value.

AT a recent meeting of the Philological Society Dr. Murray made his yearly report on the progress of the Society's New English Dictionary. Since the last report the letters C and E have been completed; D is in type to 'Definition', and F, which Mr. Bradley edits, to 'Fiancée'. D and E will form volume iii., and F, G, and H, volume iv.

THE Cambridge University Press will shortly begin the issue of the Cambridge Historical Series. The volumes of this new series, of which Mr. G. W. Prothero is to be general editor, will be of moderate size, and will be adapted to the requirements of university extension students as

well as of more advanced readers. The first volume that is to be issued is *The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Era*: 1789-1815, by J. H. Rose, M.A. It will be followed by *The Europeans in India*, by H. Morse Stephens, M.A., and by *The Unification of Germany*: 1815-1871, by J. W. Headlam, M.A.

A NEW volume of *The Fauna of British India*, which is being published for the Government of India under the general editorship of Mr. W. T. Blanford, has been issued recently. It is the second volume devoted to moths, and has been compiled by Mr. G. F. Hampson.

THE *Academy* records an interesting discovery in a ruined Buddhist monastery in China. Some years ago Dr. Edkins saw some inscribed palm leaves in it which it was thought might prove to be some of the Sanskrit writings that were carried in great numbers to China in the Middle Ages. Recently the monastery was visited by Dr. A. O. Franke, who was able to take photographs and tracings of the writing. It turns out to be in the Nepalese character of the twelfth or thirteenth century.

PROFESSOR MONIER WILLIAMS has expressed his intention of at once presenting to the Indian Institute at Oxford his valuable Oriental library of between three and four thousand volumes. The Thakore Sahib of Gondal has offered to contribute the money that is still required for the completion of the Museum connected with the Institute.

THE making of books does not seem to be an evil from which Canada suffers. The *Canadian Bookseller* mentions that in the year 1893 the total number of copyrights registered throughout the Dominion was 449, of which only ten were novels. The wants of the reading public in Canada are evidently very largely satisfied by books imported from Great Britain and the United States. The value of the books, &c., imported during the year, was £178,000. Under the new tariff a uniform duty of six cents per pound is to be imposed on all books imported.

YET another Indian and Colonial Library is announced. Messrs Bell and Co., doubtless encouraged by the success that has attended Messrs. Macmillan's and Messrs. Longmans' ventures, are about to issue "a new series of works in standard literature and fiction for sale in India and the Colonies only." The series includes recent fiction as well as works that may be regarded as English classics. Thus amongst the first to appear will be Beatrice Harraden's *Ships that pass in the Night*, Hardy's

Tess of the D'Urbervilles, and Benson's *Rubicon*, as well as translations of works by George Ebers, Björnstjerne Björnson, and Julius Stinde.

In Part XV. of *Epigraphia Indica*, which was issued in May, Professor Venis concludes his paper on the Benares copper-plate grants of Govindachandra. Dr. Führer edits a copper-plate grant of Maharaja Lakshmana, and Professor Bühler gives an account of some further votive inscriptions from the Sânchi Stûpas. Professor Kielhorn writes on two inscriptions from Chitorgadh in the Udaypur State of Rajputana, and Dr. Paul Horn contributes part of a paper dealing with Muhammadan and Arabic inscriptions from the Sûba of Delhi. Facsimiles accompany the second and third of the papers named.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

The July number of the *Contemporary Review* opens with an article entitled 'History of English Policy', by Sir J. R. Seeley. There seems occasion, says Sir J. R. Seeley, to apply a doctrine of relativity to English History. It is well-known, he says, that a principal cause of error in all departments of study is the tendency to isolate the object of study, to consider it in itself alone, neglecting its relations to other things. In order to avoid this cause of error it has been necessary in most departments formally to preach a doctrine of relativity, and to protest against the unreal abstractions, the imaginary or merely verbal entities which swarm so long as we contemplate things in themselves alone rather than in the complicated relations in which nature presents them to us. The necessity for such a protest, says Sir J. R. Seeley, is specially great in the case of history; and the main object of the present article is to show the need for a History of England that shall take due account of her relations to other nations. It is tolerably obvious, says the writer, that the people who live and have lived in England are the subject of English History; but the events of this History are not to be explained by an *a priori* doctrine of the origin and qualities of the English people. The English people, more than most others, are what they are in consequence of their relations to peoples who live outside England, though the same is in some degree true of all great peoples. Yet it is a truth difficult to bear in mind, in consequence not merely of the disposition to consider things too much in isolation, too much absolutely and too little relatively, but also of the practice which prevails of dividing history according to countries. International relations are apt to drop out of sight while this practice prevails, and a kind of tacit assumption establishes itself, that in each State the causes of the course of history are always to be sought within the State itself.

Sir J. R. Seeley is therefore of opinion that we should recognise such a department as international history. To a State like England, he says, international history must needs be exceptionally important, seeing that England has always been an island, and that within the last two centuries she has become a world-wide empire. Continental States have for a long time exerted influence upon and received influence from England; and hence these

States along with England form a whole which ought to be considered together. It is not sufficient to trace the course of internal development in England: it is necessary at the same time to trace the development of those other States which in various ways, whether by wars or negotiations or by the various instruments of culture, by thought, religion, science, or literature, have modified and received modification from the internal development of England. Practically, since it has long been considered necessary to divide English History according to the aspects in which it may be studied, this means that there ought to be a history of English policy, in which English foreign relations should be treated by themselves and for their own sake, and which would take its place side by side with English constitutional history. Sir J. R. Seeley illustrates his remarks by a reference to the last few centuries of English history—the period in which the insular kingdoms were united and in which also a trade empire covering the globe has been added to the insular union.

Mr. S. J. Capper contributes a very interesting article on Alsace and Lorraine as a factor in European politics. The fact that these two provinces were taken back from France by Germany a quarter of a century ago is, according to Mr. Capper, the one reason in the least degree adequate to palliate the anomalous and monstrous condition of Europe at the present time. The uncertainty that prevails in people's minds regarding the fate of these provinces is the occasion of the constant alarm of war and the one hindrance to a general disarmament. The first thing to be done in order to bring about a better state of matters is, says Mr. Capper, to get rid of all delusions and to really know what are the condition and prospects of the conquered provinces. In order to ascertain this Mr. Capper has spent the past six months in Alsace and Lorraine, and has taken every available means of understanding his subject. He deals first with certain proposals that have been made for settling the fate of the provinces. He holds that restoration to France is out of the question. As long as Germany holds together as a nation, he says, Alsace and Lorraine will never, upon any terms, be voluntarily given back. Nor will Germany consent to their neutralisation. What alternative then remains? First, and foremost, says Mr. Capper, to look the facts fairly in the face and to realise that Alsace and Lorraine are at least as integral parts of Germany as Savoy and Nice are of France. This he proves abundantly from his own experience. He looks upon the strong sentiment obtaining at this moment in Alsace-Lorraine in favour of France, as closely analogous to the Jacobite sentiment which lingered in Scotland until the beginning of this century. The greater part of Alsace has never been other than German and the greater part of Lorraine is being rapidly Germanised. The solution of the question, therefore, that is most likely to promote the well-being, contentment, and happiness of the two provinces, is that Alsace should be incorporated with the Grand Duchy of Baden and Lorraine attached to Prussia. In this way they would cease to feel that they were a conquered country; and united respectively to the two German States to which they are bound by many natural ties, they could in union with them work out their autonomy and their destiny.

Professor A. B. Bruce contributes a highly appreciative article on Miss Julia Wedgwood's recently published book, *The Message of Israel*. Two questions, says Professor Bruce, have for some time been pressing heavily on the Christian mind. One is: Does evolution leave us a God, such a God as a Christian can earnestly believe in? The other is: Does criticism leave us a Bible containing a special, exceptionally valuable message in the sphere of religion? The second of these questions is the one that Miss Wedgwood has set herself to answer. Her answer, as given in *The Message of Israel*, is a distinct affirmative. She holds that criticism notwithstanding Israel has a message of permanent value for the world: nay, that the message has been made more clear by all that modern criticism has dis-

covered in reference to the Hebrew sacred literature. What, then, is Israel's message? In general it is that God is one, not many: more specifically, that the proper beneficent relation of man to God is one of *trust*. In this her conception of the message of Israel presents a great contrast to the conception of Matthew Arnold. Professor Bruce thinks that both conceptions are one-sided, but that Miss Wedgwood has committed the smaller mistake. He says that she has done good service in pointing out how prominent is the note of faith in the Jehovist element of the Pentateuch. Altogether he is of opinion that Miss Wedgwood's work will be really helpful as an aid to faith in the Old Testament as containing a divine revelation, when read in the light of modern criticism. He expresses his thorough respect for the sincerity, earnestness, capacity, and tact which it throughout evinces. It may not, he says, have disposed of all questions in a conclusive manner; but it abounds in fruitful hints and stimulating suggestions, and it contains some lines of apologetic thought that will stand the severest tests.

Mr. W. T. Stead gives an account of some of the incidents connected with the recent labour struggles in America. The methods employed by American strikers, he says, are often hardly distinguishable from those of civil war. Professor T. G. Bonney deals with the subject of glacial action; and in opposition to Dr. A. R. Wallace contends that glaciers and ice sheets can excavate only under the most favourable conditions, and then but to a limited extent. In particular they are proved by a close study of the Alpine peaks and valleys to have been incapable of hollowing out the great lakes of that chain. Mr. H. F. B. Lynch makes a further contribution on 'The Armenian Question', dealing this time with the political conditions of the Armenians under Russian rule. The Rev. Father Clarke replies to the article which appeared in a recent number of this Review on the Papal Encyclical and the Bible; and Mr. T. H. Escott endeavours to estimate the possibilities of Liberal reunion. Phil Robinson writes on 'Hampstead Heath'; Mr. L. M. Brunton on 'Beatification in the East'; and Mr. A. D. Provand on 'Employers' Liability'.

The *Nineteenth Century* opens with a sonnet by Mr. Swinburne on the late President Carnot. Though characteristic it will hardly take rank with his best efforts.

Mr. Silva White deals with the partition of Africa mainly in connection with the recent proclamation of a Protectorate over Uganda. He strongly deprecates "the British policy of making concessions to any Power capable of knowing its own mind, and of enforcing its decision by the muttered threat of hostilities." The position is either worth maintaining at all reasonable costs, or it should be frankly abandoned.

Mrs. Logan under the title of 'A Night in India' gives an interesting little sketch for home consumption of a night at Birnam near the village of Narsinghpur in the valley of the Nerbudda. The globe trotter, on whom England largely depends for its knowledge of Indian affairs, is *en passant* thus alluded to:—

"Often have I observed him driving with wide-open eyes on the Red Road in Calcutta. There he may be beheld under the brilliant stars, arrayed in immaculate flannels, a huge sola topee gracefully wreathed with blue gauze on his head, a white umbrella in his hand, blue spectales on his nose. In this costume he may be seen walking in the Eden Gardens amongst the beauty and fashion of Calcutta; the electric light shows him off to great advantage."

'A Night in India' pictures a not uncommon experience in tent in the midst of the rains.

An interesting account of competitive examination in China is given by Mr. T. L. Bullock. The examination system in China has been frequently described and is now fairly well known. Mr. Bullock, accepting the testimony of the Chinese, holds that, as a rule, the nominees for merit make better public servants than the purchasers, and that the open competition men are the best of all. The regular scheme of education is entirely concerned with the ancient

literature of China. The student must study the ancient Chinese classics, and get to know the different readings and different interpretations of disputed passages.

Mr. Frederic Harrison writes a panegyric on Edward Gibbon in connection with his centenary which falls due this year. He does not place him on a level with Bacon and Hobbes as a philosopher, but as a historian with literary powers he stands on the highest summit. "He was essentially the consummate literary artist who transmutes mountains of exact research into a complex mass of statuary, glowing with life in all its parts, and glorious to contemplate as a whole." His accumulation of facts was gigantic.

Other articles which may repay perusal are 'Delusions about Tropical Cultivation'; 'Religion in Primary Schools'; and 'College Discipline'.

THE *New Review* contains little that is striking, but Mr. H. H. Johnston's paper on 'British Central Africa' will be read as bearing weight from the experience and success of its writer. Only the eastern half of Central Africa is treated of, and in this alone there is a population of 3 millions of natives. Less than 300 Europeans are scattered throughout this part, and some 200 Sikhs, lent by the Government of India, serve in the British army. Within five years trade has multiplied itself five times. Cultivation, too, has rapidly increased, and missionary enterprise has greatly progressed. Towns are springing up and flourishing, newspapers and clubs are meeting with decided success. Hotels and banks seem to be the only important desiderata. Coffee is becoming a great industry, and 100 per cent. can easily be made on its cultivation. Ivory, gold, coal, and timber also help to swell the wealth of the country. Against this bright side has to be set the unhealthiness of the climate. Among Europeans there is a mortality of 3 per cent. due almost entirely to malarial fever and dysentery. But the 'black-water' fever, which is so fatal, promises to die out before advancing cultivation and tillage. Transport, too, is difficult, and is made all the more hard by the impossibility of keeping horses and cattle in many places. The causes of this, however, seem to be losing in force as proper settling goes on. In Tropical Africa the white man can only administer; the fatigue of manual labour is too much for him to bear. The negro is incapable of undertaking work in many places, and to supply this lack, Mr. Johnston points to the Empire of India. Soldiers, shop-keepers, clerks, and railway officials would be most efficiently supplied by "the immigration of the docile, thrifty, kindly, industrious, clever-fingered, sharpwitted Indian into Central Africa."

Sir John Lubbock's criticism of '*The Budget of 1894*' is very trenchant. He shows how the graduation taxation which the Chancellor of the Exchequer seeks to impose on the whole property which passes on the death of any person is founded on a principle which is strenuously opposed by the various authorities on political economy. The result of the duty will, he considers, be a decrease in that which the successors of wealthy persons can expend on their estates for the benefit of the people who live on them.

The 'Secrets from the Court of Spain' are continued, but they furnish little information, and give nothing more than a slight and gossipy insight into the period with which they deal. Mr. Bernard Shaw reviles his critics for their lack of appreciation of his realism in his recent drama. Mr. Dolman contributes a highly eulogistic account of the way in which the Birmingham Municipality works. Mr. Escott's notice of Edmund Yates is full of praise for the originator of the 'New Journalism'. The story contributed by Lady Lindsay is one of real pathos, and shows no little skill in the painting of a humble hero. Three bill-designers let us into the secrets of that horrible art of deforming the landscape by hoardings. But beyond the mention there is nothing that calls for detailed notice.